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The Role of the Bible in Our National Life

Remarks by Secretary Acheson¹

The President has asked me to express his deep regret that he is unable to be with you this evening and to participate with you in the celebration of this august event.

I am most honored and happy to present his greetings to you and to join with you in this great meeting to inaugurate a new version, a new translation of the Bible. Years of patient scholarship and devoted labor have culminated in presenting with new learning and with the language of our time the ageless narrative, the incomparable poetry, and the revealed wisdom and teaching of these basic documents of our Nation's spiritual life—the documents which we rightly describe as the Word of God.

It is right and necessary that these eternal and vigorously living books should continually be reborn in fresh and living words, just as the earth is continuously reborn and renewed. It is right, too, that many of us should cling to the older words—particularly those who, if they apply Lincoln's phrase to themselves, must describe themselves as old men. For when he said that of himself in February 1861, he was almost 10 years younger than I am now.

We are made from the soil out of which we grew. And as we grow older we continually go back to origins. For each of us those origins are different. For me they lie in the Connecticut Valley and in the King James Version. As my mind goes back beyond clear memory, there is a merging. Soon we shall come to All Saints Day and the Advent season. The mail trucks will exhort us to mail Christmas packages early and tell us the days that remain. This brings to me, like wood smoke, memories not seen but felt—the squeak of dry snow under foot, voices no longer heard, the laughter of greetings about a doorway, the steam of breath in the cold air—and these words:

¹ Made before a meeting sponsored jointly by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the Washington Federation of Churches at the National Guard Armory, Washington, D.C., on Sept. 29 and released to the press (No. 766) on the same date.

And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed, every one unto his own city.

Then one knew that it was indeed Christmas.

So our rejoicing in a new version of the Bible does not, and need not, diminish our love for the older ones.

Apart from the familiarity with a particular version which engages our affections, the important thing for us is the place of these books in the civilization which we have inherited and which we are strengthening and defending in our own lives and in the national life of our country.

Its place is enormous—shared only, I think, by the influence of the land itself, the country in which we live. I am not forgetful of the great inheritance of Greek thought—indeed it is felt in these books themselves—or Roman institutions, or of the effect of the ideas and passions which spread across the ocean from eighteenth century France and England. But the effect of this Bible and this country were in my judgment predominant. And effect upon what? And this forms the third element to produce the United States of America—the people who came here and who were born here.

Identified With Early History

In the earliest days in the Northeast, the Book was All. The settlers came here to live their own reading of it. It was the spiritual guide, the moral and legal code, the political system, the sustenance of life, whether that meant endurance of hardship, the endless struggle with nature, battle with enemies, or the inevitable processes of life and death. And it meant to those who cast the mold of this country something very specific and very clear. It meant that the purpose of man's journey through this life was to learn and identify his life and effort with the purpose and the will of God. To do this he must purge his nature of its rebellious side. And this, in turn, meant

that the struggle between good and evil was the raging, omnipresent battle in every life, every day.

The test was not one's own will or desire, not the dictate of the government, not the opinion of the day, but the will of God as revealed by the prophets and to be found, in the last analysis, by the individual conscience—guided, instructed, chastened, but in the end, alone.

Out of the travail of these lives the idea of God-fearing was given powerful content and effect. It meant a voluntary, eager, even militant submission to a moral order overriding the wills of the low and great and of the state itself. And this carried with it the notion of restraints against all, of areas blocked off into which none might enter because here the duty of the individual conscience must be performed.

But this was not all. This did not exhaust the teachings of this Bible. For it taught also that the fear of God was the love of God and that the love of God was the love of man and the service of man.

What was written in the Book was taught also by the life of this country. Never was self-reliance so linked with mutual help as in those early days, when from birth to death neighbor turned to neighbor for help and received it in overflowing measure. No characteristic so marks Americans to this day as this quick and helping hand, a hand offered not only to our fellow citizens but to our fellow men.

Contrast to Soviet Teachings

It shocks and surprises us to be told that this is a weak and soft attitude. A few weeks ago I read to another audience the teaching which is being given to a people who only a few years ago regarded us as friends.² Here it is:

Soviet patriotism is indissolubly connected with hatred toward the enemies of the Socialist Fatherland. "It is impossible to conquer the enemy without having learned to hate him with all the might of one's soul. . . ." The teaching of hatred toward the enemies of the toilers enriches the conception of Socialistic humanism by distinguishing it from sugary and hypocritical "philanthropy."

This is a quotation from a Soviet encyclopedia.

Now philanthropy means love of man. It is sad and tragic that a people who once read the same books should be taught today to hate in order to avoid the softness of the love of man.

In order to love our own country we do not have to hate anyone. There is enough to inspire love here. And the first thing is the country itself. I am not speaking now of abstractions, the national entity, its institutions, its history, and power—great as these are—but of some piece of earth with the sky over it, whoever owns it, which we think of when we think of our country. For it is this

love of a specific place which gives great strength and comfort to the human heart.

Not far from here there are a few acres which even to think of brings me peace, and to be on, to see and touch, gives unending joy and refreshment. They came to me from the same family which received them from the Lord Proprietor and which, at the beginning of our country's history, built a modest house under the trees. Here for generations men and women have worked hard and with loving care to make a livelihood and to make a home. The house, the barn, the workshop were built to outlast the centuries and have done so. To every effort nature has responded a thousandfold, entering a partnership to make the land each season more beautiful than before—the turf softer and richer, the trees greater to shelter the small house under their embracing spread. To carry on man's side of this partnership brings a sense of merging with the land and with the generations who have been at one with it before.

It is a good beginning to the love of country to love some small piece of it very much.

And, finally, the central figure of this heritage—man himself. Who are these people, the Americans? They are a people who, as we have said, hold sacred the Word of God. They are a people molded by the dangers and the beauty and the open bounty of this continent.

Out of many, they are one. Theirs is a unity based upon the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God; theirs, too, the great and vigorous diversity based on respect for man, the individual. Here is no orthodoxy, no worship of authority. At the center of this society stands the individual man. His back is straight, he looks you in the eye—and calls no man his master. Sometimes our friends abroad ask whether, because of our machines and our worries about the world, we are losing this American quality, whether a pressure for uniformity is gradually turning us into so many sausages, all alike, in our dress, our thinking, and in the way we live. I do not think this will be our fate. We are too proud, too stubborn, too cussedly independent for the bridle. And this, indeed, is the secret of our strength, and of the lasting power of our society. For the solidarity which is built, not upon servility, but upon the common loyalty of free men, is resilient and enduring.

And the source and record of the spiritual purpose of this community of men is the Holy Writ—the Book which brings us together this evening. This occasion reminds us of the tremendous vitality of these writings, which form the core, the vertebra of our society.

These reflections upon the interplay of the Bible, the land, and the people in creating the national life of our country are made vivid for me as I go home these autumn evenings. With me, as I leave, are the worries, the exasperations, the frustrations of the day. Then the rush of the city traffic falls

² For the Secretary's address to the International Association of Machinists on Sept. 11, see BULLETIN of Sept. 22, 1952, p. 423.

away. Instead there are fields and lines of cattle facing the same way, with heads down. Lights spring up in the thinning houses. In time, the road becomes a dirt lane, which leads through a grove of oaks around a Quaker Meeting House, hidden in its ivy, beside it, the graveyard, with its rows of little headstones. I know that as I breast the hill, there will be lights at the end of the lane.

And there is peace.

And I think of the moving prayer that we should be kept all the day long of this troublous life 'til the shadows lengthen, and the evening comes, and the busy world is hushed and the fever of life is over; and our work is done; and that then we be given a safe lodging and a holy rest and peace at the last.

In the times in which we live there is no safe lodging and no rest. But all that we do and shall do is that there may be peace among men. So striving, we may find peace within ourselves.

U.S.S.R. Requests Recall of Ambassador Kennan

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*¹

Press release 777 dated October 3

The U. S. Government today received a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union stating that the Soviet Government considers Ambassador George F. Kennan as *persona non grata* and requesting Mr. Kennan's immediate recall from the post of Ambassador of the United States of America in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government in its note bases its request on the statement made on September 19 in Berlin by Mr. Kennan to representatives of the West Berlin press and American correspondents, which the Soviet Government characterized as "slandorous attacks hostile to the Soviet Union in rude violation of generally recognized norms of international law." The Government of the United States does not accept as valid the charges made by the Soviet Government.

Ambassador Kennan is recognized not only in this country but throughout the world as a man deeply versed in knowledge of the Soviet Union and sympathetic to the legitimate aspirations of the Russian peoples. There is no doubt that the request of the Soviet Government reflects their knowledge that the factual statement Ambassador Kennan made in Berlin on September 19 will be recognized in most parts of the world as a truthful one.

The reasons given by the Soviet Government for requesting the recall of Ambassador Kennan are that he has violated "generally recognized norms

of international law." This comes from a Government which has itself, over a period of years, created practices in international intercourse which violate the traditions and customs of civilized peoples developed over generations, and which adversely affect efforts to maintain good relations with the Soviet Government. The Russian peoples themselves must be shamefully aware that foreigners within the Soviet Union are customarily treated by the Soviet Government in ways which are the exact contrary of civilized international usage. The violator of accepted usage is the Soviet Government, which has created the situation accurately described in Ambassador Kennan's Berlin statement.

The Soviet Government will be informed of this conclusion. Ambassador Kennan is now in Geneva. He will remain in Western Europe temporarily and will later return to Washington for consultation.

Text of Soviet Note

Press release 778 dated October 3

Following is an unofficial English translation of the note handed on October 3 to John M. McSweeney, Counselor of the American Embassy at Moscow, by Andrei Vyshinsky, Soviet Foreign Minister, requesting the recall of Ambassador Kennan:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has the honor to inform the Government of the United States of America of the following:

As is known, the Ambassador of the United States of America in the U.S.S.R., Mr. Kennan, on September 19 at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin made a statement before representatives of the West Berlin press and American correspondents in which he made slanderous attacks hostile to the Soviet Union in a rude violation of generally recognized norms of international law. In this statement, published in a number of West German papers, Mr. Kennan allowed himself to compare the situation of Americans in Moscow with that which he allegedly experienced when in 1941-1942 he was interned by Nazis in Germany, and stated that "if the Nazis had permitted us to walk along the streets without the right to converse with any kind of German that would have been exactly the same situation in which we must live today in Moscow."

This statement of Mr. Kennan is completely false and hostile to the Soviet Union.

In view of the foregoing the Soviet Government considers it necessary to state that it considers Mr. Kennan as *persona non grata* and insists on Mr. Kennan's immediate recall from the post of the Ambassador of the United States of America in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

¹ Made at a special press conference on Oct. 3.

Understanding Today's World

by Howland H. Sargeant
*Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs*¹

I am very happy to be here today. For the theme of this Institute is as crucial as it is timely.

I regret that I am not better qualified to discuss military matters as such. I am not a professional soldier. And I make no pretense at being able to carry on a highly technical discussion of the military factors in American foreign policy.

However, I can give you some general ideas on the relationship between a sound military defense and a sound foreign policy. I can try to put military considerations in their proper focus in the making and carrying through of foreign policy. And I particularly want to pinpoint the relationship between American foreign policy and a specific military action—the action in Korea.

But before we get into any of these things, it would be wise to dispose of one or two popular misconceptions as to the process by which foreign policy is made.

There is a widely held belief that American foreign policy should be able to find the solution to any problem with the instinct of a homing pigeon or the precision of a radar-controlled rocket. Those who hold this belief assume that foreign policy can be fixed with mathematical certainty.

They assume that we can control all the factors which determine our foreign policy or that we can anticipate every move another nation is going to make.

Such is not the case.

The *objectives* of American foreign policy can be determined. They are determined. They are realistic. And they are the product of the closest kind of teamwork at the Cabinet level.

But the *problems* of foreign policy are not and cannot be solved with a calculator. Our friends abroad—even our best friends—neither jump nor want to jump every time Washington sneezes.

Foreign policy is a highly complex thing and

international politics a highly complex business.

Hand in hand with the mistaken impression that foreign policy is a simple matter goes the habit of using words like “peace,” “unity,” “strength,” and “understanding” as if we had but to press a button to achieve all four. These words make excellent slogans. They also happen to be descriptive of things America wants and is actively seeking. They are among our most vital objectives.

The road ahead of us remains hard, long, and treacherous—if we are truly to achieve the best of what each of those objectives implies.

Let us look at each of them—at “peace,” “unity,” “strength,” and “understanding.” Let us look at them closely. In the process, I think, we will begin to see the role military factors can and must play in carrying out American foreign policy. We will also begin to see that the power that America and the entire free world must have to meet the menace facing us is more than a purely material thing.

Peace Necessary to Progress

Take *peace*. Peace is not a luxury. It is a necessity if we are to continue to progress.

No less a soldier than Gen. Douglas MacArthur made that clear in a recent speech when he said: “War is outmoded as an instrument of political policy” and then went on to refer to global war as “national suicide.”

America's basic foreign-policy aim is a decent and just peace. America can be secure only with such a peace. We cannot achieve a just peace by dropping atomic bombs on everybody who disagrees with us. Nor can we produce such a peace by launching a preventive war. That is clear.

With conditions as they are, we must think in terms of military power and a sound defense. We have no alternative if we are to preserve our freedom. And we are thinking in these terms. But we must never forget that military strength is a means to an end—not an end in itself.

¹ Address made before the Institute of Military Factors in U.S. Foreign Policy conducted by the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis on Sept. 29 (press release 759 dated Sept. 28).

The Communists would like nothing better than to convince the world that America does not distinguish between end and means. They have gone all out to try to do that very thing.

Communist propagandists seek to obscure the threat posed by Soviet imperialism by perpetually calling us names. They constantly refer to our defense effort as "warmongering" and regularly charge us with "preparations for a global war." Tactics such as these—the use of outright lies—are standard equipment of the Communists' worldwide propaganda machine. They make up the mask behind which the Soviets seek to hide their aggressive intentions.

Just saying "it isn't so" hardly solves the problem posed by Communist lies. And it certainly does not begin to answer the "Hate America" campaign which has recently become a central theme of Communist propaganda.

The Communists have tried to foment hatred against us before but never on the scale of the present. Their current drive is a strenuous effort to develop hatred for the American people as well as for the United States as a nation.

I will not here go into detail on this venomous hatred campaign. I want only to make the point that hatred—when coupled with the traditional Soviet "Big Lie" technique—can become a most effective propaganda weapon if it is not quickly and effectively countered.

The fact that Communist imperialism is itself the greatest threat to peace makes it no easier for us. Many peoples—so desperately hoping for a lasting peace—are inclined to overlook the deeds of the Soviet ogre when he points his finger elsewhere and insists that his only aim is peace.

There are people in Western Europe—people who are friendly to America and Americans—who have paused to listen to what the Communists are saying. Some of these people are concerned lest our defense measures lead down the road to war.

Let us face it. The Western Europeans have but emerged from the most devastating war in modern history. They have seen their nations serve as battlefields, their homes destroyed, their democracy temporarily trampled.

Today, they live almost beneath the muzzles of Soviet guns. Should war come, they believe their homelands would be the immediate targets of atomic weapons. Can they be blamed if they fear that we—through some error in political judgment—might act so as to endanger their security?

Consider the peoples of the Near and Far East. They are not without admiration for our accomplishments. But many of them have just won their independence or are in the process of doing so. Theirs is the new nationalism.

Is it any wonder that these peoples question some of the steps we are taking to strengthen our ties with those very Western nations which have been colonial powers? Is it easy for them to forget that among our closest allies are the countries who

have wielded great influence in the Near and Far East?

It is not.

We Americans want peace. Our entire foreign policy is geared to achieving a peace of justice and decency.

But we dare not forget that there are millions of people throughout the world who must be constantly assured that we are indeed motivated by peace. We must not only talk peace. We must—by our actions—demonstrate that we seek the kind of peace other peoples want and need to share.

The Problem of Unity

And that brings me to the second problem—the problem of *unity*.

We have learned the hard way that peace and security can be achieved only if we are willing and able to work with others for the common good. America cannot "go it alone." We are strong. But not that strong.

Those who would have us seek refuge behind our two great oceans are looking through the wrong end of the telescope. America is no longer an island—if indeed it ever was. Our oceans are mere puddles. Our greatest cities are 12 hours by air from Moscow.

Technology has indeed made this "one world." And the menace of Communist imperialism has made it imperative that we join with other nations in preserving our common heritage of freedom, liberty, and individual dignity. To use the jargon of the political scientists, power in today's world is polarized. That is, there are only two major centers of power. The Soviet Union and its satellites. We and our free world allies.

This means that any gain made by international communism anywhere is a loss to free men everywhere.

From our own point of view, it means that we must be as concerned with events in the Far East, the Near East, and South America as we are with those in Western Europe.

There is no question but that our mutual relationships with Western Europe are of the highest importance—for cultural as well as for political, economic, and strategic reasons. But our efforts to help deter aggression in Europe will be fruitless if—in the process—we stand idly by while other areas of the free world are gobbled up by the Kremlin. We can truly foster freedom, stability, and security in the United States only if we are willing to help foster it everywhere else.

Creating Strength for the Free World

And that brings me to the third of these key words or symbols—*strength*.

Strength means different things to different people. What do we mean when we say the United

States seeks strength for the free world? Military strength? Certainly.

We have no recourse but to build our own defenses and to work with others to develop the power with which to contain the Kremlin.

You will note that I have used the word "contain." I should like to look briefly at just what that term implies. Now, there are those who say that containment is purely negative. I admit that the word "containment" can leave you with that impression. But America's "containment policy" as such is anything but negative. It is and always has been positive. It is not only designed to be against something—against Soviet expansionism. It is also for something—for a secure America in a decent, stable world.

The containment policy is concerned with creating strength—strength for ourselves and the entire free world. Consider some of the accomplishments that are firmly rooted in the containment policy.

Take Western Europe. In keeping with the United Nations Charter, we have helped the Europeans to build economic and political stability and to make their own way along the path toward genuine unity. The Marshall Plan, the Mutual Security Program, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—these are some of the means through which we have cooperated and are cooperating with the Western Europeans in defending their security and ours against communism.

The Schuman Plan, the European Defense Community, the Council of Europe—these are some of the achievements of a cooperating free Europe willing and able to work with us for the common good of the free peoples.

Take Greece and Turkey. Both were threatened by Stalinist ambitions at the close of World War II. Has not our aid to these two nations helped to create a bastion of strength in the northern Mediterranean for the entire free world?

We have further strengthened our security ties in the Western Hemisphere by far-reaching mutual defense agreements with our Canadian and Latin American neighbors.

In the Pacific, we have worked out a pattern of security in cooperation with Australia and New Zealand, with the Philippines, and with Japan. And we have joined our allies in resisting aggression on the Asian Continent.

The Point Four Program is helping the peoples of underdeveloped areas to strengthen and modernize their economies. We are thus opening the road to a decent standard of living to millions who have never before had it. We are helping to tackle the age-old scourges of disease, illiteracy, and hunger. In the process, we are making friends. And those friends are achieving the stability and the stamina to withstand the threat of Communist aggression.

These, then, are some of the accomplishments to which the containment policy has led us. I am

sure that you will agree that these are positive rather than negative.

I am equally certain that you can see why military power is not the only measure of strength. There is a very real relationship between a nation's ability to defend itself and its standard of living, its morale, and the stability of its government. This we cannot—dare not—forget.

To expect a friendly European nation to do its part in bearing the mutual burden of military defense while its economy is tottering or its government is paralyzed is to expect the impossible. We may carp about the failure of some of our friends to keep up with us in terms of military production or the number of divisions in the field. That is only natural. The American taxpayer is carrying a heavy load. But the fact is that, proportionately speaking, his load is not nearly so heavy as that in several European countries where the standard of living is far below our own.

Yes, America seeks strength—strength for herself and for the entire free world. But we Americans must be realistic. We must bear in mind that strength is not purely material. It must have a solid moral and spiritual foundation.

The Need for Mutual Understanding

And that brings me to the fourth of our slogans—*understanding*.

We—the peoples of the free world—will have neither peace nor unity nor genuine strength unless we also have mutual understanding. We can work effectively for peace and against tyranny only if we know each other. We can reach our objectives only if we are as tolerant of each other's differences as we are certain of our agreement on basic principles.

America and her friends must continue to share their common belief in individual dignity, freedom of expression, and the other basic liberties which characterize democracy. We must never lose sight of those ideals which distinguish us from the brutal, enslaving soul-destruction of Communist totalitarianism.

America must never forget that it is under the greatest pressure to foster mutual understanding, if only because its position of leadership demands it. What does this mean? It means that all of us—private individuals as well as government officials—must learn to avoid making irresponsible statements which add nothing to America's security and serve only to alienate our friends overseas.

It is one thing to take a firm position against aggression or the threat of aggression. It is quite another to make empty, threatening gestures which create grist for the Soviet propaganda mill and add to the fears and tensions of those friendly nations that live under the immediate shadow of Soviet power.

The proposal that America use force to liberate

the peoples behind the Iron Curtain is a case in point.

Of these enslaved peoples, President Truman has said: "We shall never forget these people. We shall never cease working to help these people gain their rightful chance for freedom." However—as the President went on to point out—the liberation-by-force proposal would not benefit the Eastern Europeans nor would it improve our relations with our free allies.

If pursued, the proposal would simply raise false hopes among the Eastern Europeans and might well lead to even greater repression by their Communist rulers. It might also foster fruitless bloodshed by inciting revolt against regimes which have the power to crush such revolt with comparative ease.

Inasmuch as liberation by force implies the use of military power, our friends in Western Europe could hardly continue to see us as a peaceful nation if the proposal were kept alive. Our allies could not help but feel that we were being hypocritical in urging peace on one hand while, on the other, some of our well-known citizens were advocating the use of force in Eastern Europe.

I am happy to state that the liberation-by-force proposal seems to be fading from the scene. But I want to repeat that we have not forgotten the people behind the Iron Curtain. Nor will we forget them. These peoples will regain their freedom. I am convinced of that. For I am confident that Soviet tyranny cannot stand up to the free way of life in the long run.

We can best meet our obligation to those behind the Iron Curtain by building and maintaining our own strength. Given that strength, the powerful attraction that freedom can hold for all peoples will inevitably force the Communists to release their grip on those whom they have enslaved.

Practicing What We Preach

Another obligation is that we practice what we preach.

This is as true in the economic field as it is in others. We dare not proclaim our desires for progressive freeing of trade on one hand while erecting unnecessarily stiff tariff barriers on the other. We dare not promise to purchase thus-and-so in other countries, if, at the same time, we are giving in to selfish domestic pressure exerted in the interest of excessive profits.

Obviously we can and should look out for the reasonable needs of our domestic industries. But we must understand that we can do so most effectively in the long run only if we recognize the needs of other countries as well. We would do well to remember that the day when one could measure good will exclusively in dollars and cents is behind us.

We cannot afford to think like the General who, when told that all of his artillery had been captured by the enemy, responded: "Oh, well, it hasn't been paid for!"

The battle between freedom and Communist totalitarianism is a global one. And it is being fought at every level. Ideas are as important as bullets in this battle. And we can win only if we can continue to show other peoples that it is to their own best interest to work with us. We can win only if we are able to project an honest image of a decent America into the minds of those many millions who now have false or inadequate impressions of us.

Our international information program is making great progress toward both of these objectives. It is getting results. But the program is a young one. We would be deluding ourselves if we were to assume that the job were done or nearly done. We have only begun it.

Yes, we must have genuine understanding. And we must be willing to give it to others. How does this need for understanding fit in with the military considerations with which this Institute is concerned?

Wise Use of Power

Let me give you a brief summary.

Military factors do play a crucial role in the determination of how our foreign policy is to operate in a given situation. Military power is one major factor in our efforts to build situations of strength at strategic points where the free world and the slave world meet. We have tried to pursue a policy consistent with our capacities. We have sought to avoid political commitments which are beyond our material power to discharge. We do realize that power—material power—affects decisions in the field of international politics.

At the same time, we try to heed the advice of the Roman, Seneca, who said: "He who has great power should use it lightly."

Our great power in today's world is beneficial only to the extent that we use it wisely. And wisdom demands that we work with others in the common interest of peace and democracy. If we can continue to use our power wisely, we can win the respect and the confidence of other nations. We must have that respect and that confidence if we are to be secure.

Did we use our power wisely in Korea? Were we right in supporting the U.N. action there?

These are vital and immediate questions. For Korea is not only a crucial "military factor" in American foreign policy. Korea is of direct human concern to every American family with a son, a brother, or a husband fighting there. Korea is a tragic personal thing for many thousands of American homes.

But Korea also holds real meaning for the security of America and for everything we hold dear. The charges that American diplomacy gave North Korea to the Communists or that we failed to help the Republic of South Korea to prepare its defenses are false. They are also

dangerous. They strike at our well-being if only because they tend to obscure the facts about Korea that every thinking American has a right to know and understand.

One fact that is particularly obscure for many people is *why* we went into Korea. The simple truth is that we went in to help stop aggression. Not only have we stopped it, but we have also driven the aggressor back along most of the battle line to the point from which his aggression was launched.

Accomplishments in Korea

But let us look at specifics. What have we accomplished by halting the brutal, unprovoked, carefully planned assault which the Communists launched in June of 1950?

We have taken part in modern history's first successful containment of aggression by collective security. We have helped the United Nations to maintain and strengthen its position as mankind's best hope for peace. We have kept an independent Republic from being overrun by communism, and thus have preserved an ally for the free world in Asia. We have shattered the myth of Communist invincibility and given new heart to the forces fighting communism in Asia and elsewhere. We have undoubtedly deterred the Communists from launching other aggressions elsewhere.

We have localized a conflict that might well have spread into global war. We have fought in Korea so that we would not have to fight with our backs to our own walls. By the forthright action in Korea, the free nations have an added respect for the United States and renewed confidence in our aims. The United Nations has likewise gained prestige.

A few of the achievements I have listed may seem relatively unimportant to some people. After all, Korea is thousands of miles away from Minneapolis or Portland or Cleveland. But distance does not change the fact that our very existence has been at stake in Korea. Let me quote a few sentences from an intelligence report which was made public some months ago. It concerns a statement a Communist officer in the Far East made to his men shortly before the invasion of Korea. This is what the officer said:

In order to successfully undertake the long-awaited world revolution, we must first unify Asia. . . . Java, Indochina, Malaya, India, Tibet, Thailand, the Philippines, and Japan are ultimate targets. . . . The United States is the only obstacle on our road for the liberation of all countries in southeast Asia. In other words, we must unify the people of Asia and crush the United States.

Let me repeat those words: "We must . . . crush the United States." Does that look as if the United States can afford to be unconcerned with what happens in Korea—or, for that mat-

ter, with what happens anywhere in Asia? No. The Communists launched their aggression in Korea with every intention of making it a step toward swallowing Asia and ultimately the world. We had no alternative but to act as we did.

The cold-blooded Communist aggression in Korea has alerted the free world to the need for stepping up its defense efforts, and the U.N. operations in Korea have given us the time and the impetus to do so. Now, one thing that particularly concerns most Americans today is the fact that the Korean truce negotiations have been dragging along for some 15 months. There is an understandable impatience—a feeling that perhaps we ought to adopt certain additional drastic measures to force the Communists to come to an agreement. There is, for example, the school of thought which holds that we ought to extend the Korean conflict to the Chinese mainland.

Truce Negotiations

Now, I will agree that the negotiations have lasted a long time. Admittedly, the going in the truce tent at Panmunjom has not been easy. But there are several very vital facts that we ought to bear in mind before we allow our impatience to get the best of our good judgment. In the first place, the truce negotiations have not been fruitless. Only a single issue—that of the prisoners of war—stands between the negotiators and full agreement. The Communists are demanding that we forcibly repatriate all prisoners in our hands. Thousands of these prisoners have said that they do not want to return to Communist control because they fear that they will be tortured or shot if they do so.

We have refused to force these prisoners of war to return. As President Truman has pointed out, we have no intention of going back on the very morality which distinguishes our freedom from Communist tyranny. We have no intention of sending prisoners of war to their death.

We have no intention of sacrificing principle for expediency.

A second point that needs to be borne in mind is that a primary consideration in Korea is the security of our troops there. Prior to the Communist request for truce negotiations, we had inflicted heavy casualties upon the aggressor. We have not been allowing him to relax during the negotiations. He has continued to suffer heavy losses. His defense industries and military supply lines in North Korea have been subjected to a constant and heavy pounding by our bombers. Many of his key sources of power—electric power, in particular—have been knocked out.

It has been suggested that the truce negotiations have given the Communists a chance to build up their forces. The fact is that we have not been sitting still either. General Van Fleet pointed out only a few weeks ago that we are in position to

take anything the Communists can throw at us. The General also stated that the morale, equipment, and general level of readiness of U.N. forces in Korea are excellent.

A third point about the current situation in Korea—and a very crucial point it is—concerns the proposal that we expand the conflict there. Expansion of the conflict would not necessarily solve our problem. It would certainly increase the danger of an all-out global war. Gen. Omar Bradley, speaking for our Joint Chiefs of Staff, of which he is Chairman, had this to say to Congress. I quote him:

Enlargement of the war in Korea to include Red China would probably delight the Kremlin more than anything else we could do. It would necessarily tie down additional forces, especially our sea power and our air power, while the Soviet Union would not be obligated to put a single man into the conflict.

That was the view of General Bradley, a view shared by all of the Joint Chiefs. As I have said, I personally do not know much about military science. But our Joint Chiefs of Staff do know. Like an overwhelming majority of Americans, I have great confidence in their understanding and judgment.

I know that no matter how the truce negotiations in Korea come out we will not unnecessarily endanger the security of our forces there. We will certainly not go back on the principles by which we live. We will not abandon those who look to us to stand firm on our convictions. The U.N. military objective in Korea was to stop aggression. I repeat—that objective has been achieved.

It is to our best interest to bear that in mind as we consider our future course of action. It is to our best interest to remember that the United States is not the only nation fighting in Korea. We must recognize that any decision we may make on Korea will affect our free-world allies. We must painstakingly measure any contemplated steps against any loss that we may suffer in the unity, the strength, and the trust we share with other peoples.

The military action in Korea has had and will continue to have a strong psychological impact upon other nations, whether they are directly concerned or not.

The Korean conflict is limited. But it is not isolated.

I do not presume to know what no man can—except perhaps the Communist leaders who are blocking settlement in Korea. I cannot tell you when we are going to reach a settlement. Nor can I tell you that there is any easy road to a Korean solution. There is none.

But I can tell you this—as long as we hold to our ideals, our self-confidence, and our willingness to work for better understanding with other peoples, we can be confident that we will achieve our objectives.

Broadcast by Rumanian Escapee

Press release 770 dated October 1

Panait Calcai, escaped Rumanian Olympics athlete, warned his fellow countrymen in a Voice of America broadcast on October 1 not to be deceived by the Communists. The 28-year-old Rumanian marksmanship champion, who fled to freedom during the recent Olympics in Helsinki, is now in Western Germany. In a statement pre-recorded for the Voice of America broadcast to Rumania, Calcai said:

I am filled with deep emotion in speaking to those in my country from this radio station which I myself have listened to for years with hope and confidence.

The statement, which was released simultaneously at a news conference in Frankfurt, said that the lies and falsities of the Communist regime in Rumania came into striking focus as soon as he reached the free world.

"It is this unmasking of their deception," Calcai continued, "that the Communists are most afraid of. For it is this knowledge which gives the lie most effectively to Communist propaganda and which will most strengthen the captive people's will to resist."

Calcai made his escape as the Rumanian team was waiting at the Helsinki railroad station after the end of the Olympics. He claimed that he had forgotten his knapsack and then started an altercation with the guard who accompanied him to get the knapsack. The guard disappeared when police and a crowd were attracted by the struggle and he was permitted to go his own way.

"I could not return to my country," he declared, "and permit my further use as an instrument of a regime which wants its athletes to defame Western Europeans and Western achievements. I prefer to do what any honest Rumanian would have done in my place."

The Communists imagine they can muffle the love of freedom and the attachment of the entire Rumanian people toward the free world. But the Communists cannot make fools of honest Rumanians—of Rumanians who know and value freedom as much as their own life.

Calcai told his fellow countrymen that the tragedy of those behind the Iron Curtain is fully understood by free peoples everywhere. He added:

My countrymen in Rumania, it is your duty to maintain your confidence. Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by the Communists.

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy

Approving Puerto Rican Constitution. Hearings Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess. on S.J. Res. 151, A Joint Resolution Approving the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Which Was Adopted by the People of Puerto Rico on March 3, 1952. Apr. 29 and May 6, 1952. Committee print. 126 pp.

Private Enterprise in Turkish-American Relations

by *George C. McGhee*¹
Ambassador to Turkey

The success of private commercial enterprise, which I count as the principal force in the economic relations between free nations, is dependent upon a broad base of cooperation and understanding between the peoples and the countries concerned. Such success depends upon the existence of certain common standards of business conduct and ethics and upon the acceptance of common commercial procedures. It also depends upon broad agreement between the countries concerned on basic political and economic policy. Even though trade is possible between governments permitting private trading and those engaged in totalitarian state trading, it is no coincidence that healthy economic relations have, in fact, never developed between such nations. I would like, therefore, to preface my remarks by commenting on the understanding between the Turkish and American Governments which makes your business enterprise possible.

I believe it accurate to state that never in history have Turkish-American relations been so close. In remarks which I made some weeks ago before another distinguished group here in Istanbul, I ventured to refer to our relations as a partnership—a Turkish-American partnership.² I consider the term partnership, which connotes mutual confidence and trust between equals, a term peculiarly applicable to the happy relationship which has developed between our two countries in the postwar period.

This partnership was strongly cemented by the Truman Doctrine, enunciated in March 1947. That Doctrine, as you will recall, was the American answer to Soviet-inspired pressures upon Turkey and Greece. Pursuant to that policy, the United States has been able to extend to Turkey military and economic aid in an aggregate of over

1 billion dollars. The Turkish people have matched this American aid in true partnership fashion with a remarkable national effort. Turkey has clearly demonstrated her determination to stand firm. We regard her as one of our staunchest allies. We share her pride in her magnificent record in Korea. We are gratified that Turkey's position in the Western community has been further solidified by her adherence to the North Atlantic Treaty. We welcome the accumulated wisdom of Turkish statecraft which will be brought to bear on NATO decisions and in deliberations affecting the creation of the proposed Middle East Defense Organization.

During the 5 years in which our Turkish-American partnership has taken on strength, there has been concomitantly a marked degree of economic progress in Turkey. Increases in agricultural production—especially cereals and cotton—have been spectacular. Starting from an import position in wheat, Turkey last year exported 800,000 tons, and this year expects to export 1,500,000 tons. There has been a steady expansion in industrial output and power facilities. Coal, chrome, manganese, and copper have been coming out of Turkish mines at an accelerated rate. The Turkish road system has been greatly expanded and transport substantially improved.

These are generalized statements of improvements which all of us have witnessed. The Turkish people deserve full credit for this progress. They have worked hard indeed to take advantage of the economic potentialities of their country. We are proud, however, that our economic mission has been able to assist Turkey during this period of progress. We are most happy that American equipment, supplies and technical assistance, furnished under our aid programs, have made an important contribution.

I hope that my Turkish friends share my conviction that the Turkish-American partnership, with its manifest solidarity in the military, economic, and cultural fields, stands on a very firm and broad

¹ Address made before the Propeller Club of the United States of the Port of Istanbul at Istanbul, Turkey, on Sept. 9.

² BULLETIN of May 19, 1952, p. 774.

foundation. It is because of this fundamental strength that you gentlemen, interested in Turkish-American commercial relationships and sparked by the concept of private enterprise, can chart your future course in relative security.

American Clipper Ships in Early Trading

And now let us go back to the central theme of private enterprise in Turkish-American relations. As Propeller Club members, with a basic interest in maritime matters, you know that the American clipper ships of the early 1800's ranked foremost of all vessels afloat. They were swift, smart, strong of construction, and were navigated with pluck. These vessels, their skippers and their crews represented early American private initiative at its best. These clipper ships, while by no means the first American ships to call at Turkish ports, were responsible for an expanded Turkish-American trade with cargoes valued in excess of a million dollars yearly from 1811 on.

Most of this early trade was with Izmir. The first American vessel that ever penetrated the Black Sea was the brig *Calumet*, of Boston, in 1810. Trade with Istanbul, however, was not undertaken on any appreciable basis until after the conclusion of the Turkish-American Treaty of 1830, through which the U. S. Government obtained for its citizens in Turkey rights equal to those enjoyed by the citizens of the most favored nations. Thus the Black Sea was permanently opened to American commerce and navigation. With diplomatic relations established between the U.S. Government and the Sublime Porte, a number of Americans settled in Turkish port cities. Some of their descendants continue to play a part in Turkey's business life.

There are three particular side lights which may interest you in connection with the Turkish-American Treaty of 1830: Ratifications were exchanged in Kandilli on the Bosphorus (opposite the present site of Robert College), where the Reis Effendi, or Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, resided. Of the three U. S. representatives who conducted the lengthy negotiations which led to the treaty of 1830, two were businessmen—Charles Rhind, a New York merchant long interested in trade in the Levant, and David Offley, an Izmir trader who afterward became the first American Consul in Turkey under the treaty. It was an American clipper ship, and the private ingenuity which it embodied, that attracted the Sublime Porte and laid the ground work for formalized Turkish-American trade relations.

Basis of Commercial Intercourse

Present-day Turkish-American commercial intercourse is conducted within the framework of three formal agreements: The Commerce and Navigation Treaty of October 1, 1929; the Estab-

lishment and Sojourn Treaty of October 28, 1931; and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The Commerce and Navigation Treaty mutually guarantees to Turkish and American foreign traders unconditional most-favored-nation treatment with respect to their imports and exports. In addition, it accords reciprocally to Turkish vessels in the United States and U. S. vessels in Turkey much of the same treatment accorded national vessels.

The Establishment and Sojourn Treaty mutually guarantees to the nationals and corporations of either country in the territories of the other, most-favored-nation treatment as concerns matters implicit in the treaty title—establishment and sojourn.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—generally referred to as GATT—is a multilateral instrument to which both the United States and Turkey are now parties. Turkey's accession occurred on September 17, 1951. Trade concessions which the United States and Turkey negotiated within the GATT framework at Torquay, England, during the summer of 1951, went into effect on October 17, 1951. The bilateral trade concessions, benefits of which accrue to all GATT partners, represent a further liberalization of the tariff treatment previously accorded Turkish and U. S. products and supersede the provisions of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement between Turkey and the United States of April 1, 1939.

The three agreements which I have just mentioned constitute the legal basis on which Americans can do business in Turkey and Turks can do business in the United States. Those of you Americans who have interests in Turkey and those of you Turks who have such interests in the United States have been able to establish and maintain them by virtue of the Establishment and Sojourn Treaty. Because of it, private Americans have made investments in Turkey and have established themselves here for both commercial and philanthropic purposes with reasonable assurance of protection and continuity.

U.S.-Turkish Trade Flourishing

It should, of course, be the objective of our two countries continuously to consider means by which the basis of fruitful trade can be expanded and improved, and it is my hope that progress in this direction can be made in bringing our treaty structure up to date. In the meantime, however, trade and investment between Turkey and the United States has flourished. American investments in Turkey are substantial. They exceed 33 million dollars. Of this amount, approximately 11 million dollars is invested in oil distribution facilities, 8 million dollars in American-sponsored schools and hospitals, and 6 million dollars in tobacco processing installations. In this latter connection you might be interested to know that the tobacco

plants shipped 32 million dollars worth of Turkish tobacco to the United States in 1951. Other fields of activity involving considerable American investments include sewing machine distribution, electric light bulb production, licorice processing, pharmaceutical manufacture, and the distribution of photographic equipment.

Total trade between the United States and Turkey amounted in 1951 to 60 million dollars in Turkish imports and 67 million dollars in Turkish exports. In addition to tobacco, America has emerged as the major purchaser of other Turkish products. Last year, for example, the United States bought about 70 percent of Turkish chrome output, which was 59 percent by value of total American imports of metallurgical grade of this vital commodity. The United States is also purchasing increasing amounts of manganese. The United States exhibit at the current Izmir Trade Fair, which I recently had the honor of attending to open the American Pavilion, is evidence of interest in maintaining trade between the two countries on a solid and enduring basis.

Promotion of Domestic Investment

While I have no comparable data to offer on Turkish activity in my country, there are a number of Turkish nationals whom we regard as "treaty merchants" and who are associated with very active commercial establishments in the United States. Some of these are doing most creditable service in the procurement of essential ores, such as chrome and manganese, from Turkey. There are other Turks who have chosen to make the United States their permanent home. They have joined the other elements of the American population in helping make our country the land of economic accomplishment that it is.

I am often asked why there is not more foreign private investment in Turkey. With about the same frequency I am asked why there is not more domestic private investment in Turkey. The second question should obviously come first because, generally speaking, a climate which is conducive to domestic private investment tends to attract outside capital.

As concerns Turkey, I believe it important to stress that evolution in the direction of domestic private investment has been occurring in progressive stages since the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Those who understand the economic problems which faced Ataturk and the Grand National Assembly in those early days understand why it was considered necessary to inject a strong element of state planning and state enterprise into the economic life of the country as the first phase of Turkey's modern economic development. Turkey, both as a country and as a composite of individuals, lacked capital. If the industrial base required for a modern state was to be created upon the existing agricultural econ-

omy, it was considered necessary for the state itself to take the initiative. In recent years Turkey has swung into a new phase of economic development: the phase of increased economic freedom and intensified economic effort. I have heard it argued effectively that this phase could never have come about in Turkey without the steps which preceded it.

The important point is that Turkey today is one of the few countries in the world whose policy calls for diminishing rather than broadening state control of industry, business, and banking. By delimiting the future role of state enterprise, the Turkish Government recognizes the contribution that the spirit of private initiative can, as it did in our country, make toward the development of Turkey's great natural resources.

I see widespread evidence that the Turkish Government wishes to promote domestic private enterprise and investment. Let me cite a few examples: The state match monopoly has been lifted, making possible the private import, sale, and domestic production of matches. Salt production for export has been opened up to private interests. Sugar beet growers are able to buy shares in heretofore fully state-owned sugar factories, and three new sugar factories are projected on a wholly private capital basis. Many millions of lira have been contributed by businessmen and other residents of the Adana area to help finance the Seyhan Dam. The Turkish Government has authorized the creation of the Industrial Development Bank of Turkey, which was sponsored by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The express three-fold purpose of the Development bank is to stimulate and assist the establishment of more private industry in Turkey, to encourage the investment of private capital as such, and to promote and encourage individual ownership of security holdings.

And now let us pick up the thread of foreign private investment which we dropped a little earlier. The highly encouraging signs in the domestic picture find their counterpart in action by the Turkish Government to encourage foreign private investment. A great step forward in creating favorable conditions for foreign investment was taken by the passage of a law designed for this specific purpose. While it does not fully match the provisions of laws in those countries which have attracted large sums of foreign capital, it nevertheless is a splendid start and should go far in improving the investment climate of Turkey. The law provides special opportunities for foreign investment in the fields of economic development which are open to private Turkish capital. A guaranty is provided within certain limits for the transfer abroad of earnings. It also provides for repatriation of capital after liquidation. Relaxation in favor of foreign capital of statutes which restrict certain crafts and mine investment to Turkish citizens is permissive.

U. S. Encourages Private Investment

Our Government has also taken steps to encourage foreign private investment. As Turkey is a participating country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, private American investors have been able to obtain additional U.S. Government guaranties for the reconversion into dollars of their Turkish investment, profits, and earnings. These guaranties constitute one of the incentives which the U.S. Government offers to American investors willing to make investments in countries participating in the Mutual Security Program. The incentives which our Government offers American investors abroad are the natural product of the strong emphasis which is placed on private investment as a matter of basic U.S. economic policy. The real significance of our private investment abroad is that it does not leave home alone. It has a very effective traveling partner—managerial experience and technical know-how.

It is no secret that I am highly enthusiastic about the future of Turkey. I am enthusiastic about it for many reasons which need not be elaborated here. But within the context of my present remarks I am enthusiastic about this country because it has a basic economic soundness which should appeal strongly to foreign investors. This basic economic soundness is composed of many elements and I mention but a few.

First, the Turks are an intelligent and hard-working people; they are sound of mind and body, they are honest, they have keen perception, and even the most modest farmer has the enviable qualities of strong pride and intuitive good judgment. Modern Turkey is a true democracy, which, representing a united people, possesses a high degree of political stability.

Second, Turkey is wealthy in natural resources. Only 30 percent of her vast expanse of arable land is under cultivation. Her water resources are scarcely touched, and the nature of the country's watersheds suggests large accumulations of underground water. Turkey has already developed substantial production of important minerals. Unquestionably there are even larger hidden reserves which await discovery through intensified geological exploration. The prospects for production of petroleum are good. All these and other resources await development in a country whose ratio of resources to population is among the highest in the world. Turkey offers substantial availability of raw materials for many processing industries. This is true of animal and vegetable fibers, oil seeds, fruits and vegetables, as well as minerals for smelting.

Third, the economy of Turkey is dynamic. There is a normal healthy growth in population of about 2 percent per year. Using 1948 prices as a base, national income is increasing at a rate of about 7 percent per annum—with a jump to 14

percent from 1950 to 1951. This rate of increase would be exceedingly high anywhere. The 1950-51 increase is comparable to the current rate in the United States, where we are in a more mature stage of our economic development and have under way a vast defense program. There is no reason, however, to suspect that it cannot continue in Turkey. The combination of growing population and increasing national income clearly indicates an expanding economy.

Turkey's Standing High With U. S. Businessmen

It is my pleasure to see many American businessmen who come to Turkey. I am glad to say that they are coming here in ever-increasing numbers. Recently we had the visit of representatives of a well-known American corporation which is looking for countries holding promise for establishing manufacturing operations. Their study of the economic potentialities of Turkey was one of the many similar studies which the same representatives have been making for the same company around the world. Their conclusion will interest you. They concluded in their survey that, from their standpoint, Turkey is today the best foreign country in the world in which to invest. They maintained that with one exception it far surpassed in potential the six foreign countries in which the company already has plants.

You and I, and businessmen like those I have just mentioned, are looking into Turkey's future. Present trends point to the growth of the Turkish nation to a population of 50,000,000—a population which Turkey's national resources when developed will have no difficulty in supporting. At that point Turkey will rank high among the great production and trading nations in the world. A country which offers an expanding market for an estimated 70 years to come is certainly a first-class place in which to invest.

I believe Turkey merits high praise for the sagacious evaluation of her future economics. She has made a sound choice—a choice which but few countries in the world have had the wisdom to make—in deciding to retrench state control of production facilities and investment and to give private initiative and capital, both domestic and foreign, scope within which to operate and develop. It is only necessary for Turkey to proceed in her development in an orderly way, to maintain the soundness of her currency and her international credit, and to maintain her reputation for fair and businesslike relations by scrupulously fulfilling all commitments and obligations to those who have shown their confidence in the future of Turkey by trading or investing here.

Turkey's new economic era, now that it is possible for her to turn more to private enterprise, heralds great benefits for her. It heralds great benefits for those individuals—Turks and foreign-

ers—who participate in the expansion of private enterprise in Turkey. Private enterprise provides the necessary driving force, a force for economic development which can at the same time be harnessed and made socially responsible. Where it can be employed, it has no equal in the development of an expanding economy. Private enterprise in trade and industry, like the private holding of land, is one of the bulwarks of civilization. It is productive, creative, and imaginative. The state benefits in many ways, including higher tax returns on an expanding volume of production. The state has adequate means at its disposal to assure protection of its own interests, and those of the worker and the consumer. Productive private investment, whether domestic or foreign, is first and foremost an asset to the country in which it is invested.

Private enterprise and foreign investment went hand in hand in the development of the United States. We remember that our economic progress was made possible by monetary aid and technical assistance which came originally from abroad. Many were the investors in Europe who supplied the capital which built our railroads, founded our heavy industry, and mined our resources. Many were the inventors and artisans of the Old World who came to our country and brought with them their crafts and skills to be passed on to those unacquainted with new techniques. Our Nation is peopled by the descendants of Old World immigrants, and we remember the benefits given us by them.

We stand ready to give in much the same manner what we received. American capital and its accompanying technical skills can undertake in Turkey on an increased scale what you gentlemen are already doing. The Turkish Government has wisely laid the fundamental ground work for the era in which private enterprise will play an outstanding role in the relationship between Turkey and the United States.

Point Four and World Peace

Remarks by the President¹

White House press release dated September 26

It is a pleasure indeed to have you come to Washington and to pay a visit to the White House. I am vitally interested in the work which you have been studying. I am more than vitally interested in the successful operation of what we call the Point Four Program. It is a program to help people to help themselves. It is a program to help

¹ Made at the White House on Sept. 26 before delegates to the International Conference on Agricultural and Co-operative Credit, who conferred with Washington officials after the close of sessions held at the U. of Calif., Berkeley, from Aug. 4 to Sept. 13. For an article on the Conference, see BULLETIN of Sept. 22, 1952, p. 453.

the development of the natural resources of all these great countries for the benefit of the people themselves who live in the countries who own the resources.

It has wonderful implications, in that if it can be successfully operated all around the globe, the improvement of the living standards and conditions of all the people in the world will be affected.

And if that is done, our objective will be attained, because that will be the greatest contribution that we can make to peace in the world.

It is starving people and people who have grievances against their overlords that cause revolutions and that contribute to the Communist movement, which in the long run is the greatest totalitarian force in existence in the world today—the greatest force for evil that ever has been in existence.

There isn't any difference between the manner in which the totalitarian so-called Communist states treat their inhabitants and the way in which Hitler treated his people. They are exactly parallel in the way they manage things, only they call them by different names.

What we are trying to do is get the free peoples of the world to understand that freedom of action, and freedom of approach—such as you have been studying here today—is much the better way to get prosperity and a better standard of living in the world.

I am more than happy that you have had a session at the University of California, one of our great universities; and I sincerely hope that these meetings and these instructive conferences can be continued over the years.

You see, I am going to be out of a job on the 20th of January, but I don't want this Program which was inaugurated under the good Doctor Bennett to be stopped on that account. And I don't think it will because you people can keep it going.

And I want to say to you that this country has no ambitions territorially to dominate any country in the world. We have all we can do to take care of our own country.

I want to call your attention to one thing in particular. We have neighbors on the south of us. We have neighbors on the north of us. You won't find those neighbors in any way alarmed or afraid of the great Republic of the United States. We are their friends and they know we are their friends. They know we have no ulterior motives on their resources or their peoples or their political setup.

Now if we could get the whole world to feel that way, if we could get the neighbors of the Soviet Republic to feel that way, if the Soviet Republic would act to its neighbors as we act to ours, I don't think there would be any chance for a third world war.

Peace is what I want. And I think this organization, and this Program, will make a greater contribution to peace than any other one thing that could happen in the world.

Proposals to Iran Clarified

Press release 780 dated October 5

Following is the text of a note from Secretary Acheson to Prime Minister Mossadeqh of Iran, delivered on October 5 by Ambassador Loy W. Henderson:

I have been in touch with the President since he received your message of September 24, 1952,¹ and, since he is away from the Capital at this time, he has authorized me to acknowledge your letter. He is disappointed to learn from it that you have found unacceptable the proposals which were put forward on August 30, 1952.²

It had been our understanding that the Iranian Government's position was that negotiation for settlement of the oil dispute must take into account: (a) the fact of nationalization, (b) the complete independence of Iran in the operation of its oil industry, and (c) the freedom of Iran to sell its oil on other than a monopoly basis.

It was and is our sincere belief that the proposals which were put forward on August 30 met these points. These proposals clearly recognized the fact of nationalization and did not seek to revive the 1933 Concession, or any concession. Foreign management of the industry was not put forward as a condition, or even suggested. There was no intent to propose a monopoly of the purchase of Iranian oil.

As regards claim for compensation by the Company and the counter claims by Iran, we suggested a method of settlement of all claims by impartial adjudication. There are doubtless other equitable methods. In regard to the question of the price to be paid for Iranian oil, we suggested that this should be worked out between purchaser and seller rather than by Governments.

Regardless of the acceptability of the proposals of August 30, it is a matter of regret to us that their meaning should have been misunderstood. We have tried to correct this because of the real importance which attaches to our words being understood by you as they were meant by us.

Import Fees Imposed on Almonds

A PROCLAMATION³

1. WHEREAS, pursuant to section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as added by section 31 of the act of August 24, 1935, 49 Stat. 773, reenacted by section 1 of the act of June 3, 1937, 50 Stat. 246, and amended by section 3 of the act of July 3, 1948, 62 Stat. 1248, and section 3 of the act of June 28, 1950, 64 Stat. 261 (7 U. S. C. 624), I caused the United States Tariff Commission to make an

¹ BULLETIN of Oct. 6, 1952, p. 532.

² *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1952, p. 360. For a press conference statement by Secretary Acheson on the joint U.S.-U.K. proposals of Aug. 30, see *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1952, p. 405.

³ No. 2991; 17 *Fed. Reg.* 8645.

investigation to determine whether certain tree nuts are being or are practically certain to be imported into the United States under such conditions and in such quantities as to render or tend to render ineffective, or materially interfere with, certain programs or operations undertaken by the Department of Agriculture with respect to such nuts, or to reduce substantially the amount of any product processed in the United States from such nuts with respect to which any such program or operation is being undertaken; and

2. WHEREAS the Commission instituted such investigation on April 13, 1950, and on November 24, 1950 reported to me that there was at that time no basis for any action under the said section 22 with respect to imports of such nuts, but that it was continuing the investigation; and

3. WHEREAS, after further investigation, including a public hearing, the Commission, on November 28, 1951, reported to me regarding the need for action under the said section 22 in order to protect the programs of the United States Department of Agriculture for the crop year 1951-52 with respect to almonds, pecans, filberts, and walnuts, in which report the Commission found that the imposition of a specified fee on imports of shelled almonds and of blanched, roasted, or otherwise prepared or preserved almonds (not including almond paste) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption during the period October 1, 1951 to September 30, 1952, inclusive, in excess of a specified aggregate quantity, was necessary to prevent imports of such almonds from rendering ineffective or materially interfering with the program undertaken by the Department of Agriculture with respect to almonds; and

4. WHEREAS, in accordance with the Commission's recommendation in the said report of November 28, 1951, on December 10, 1951 I issued a proclamation pursuant to the said section 22 imposing a fee on imports of shelled almonds and on blanched, roasted, or otherwise prepared or preserved almonds entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption during the period October 1, 1951 to September 30, 1952, inclusive, in excess of a certain aggregate quantity, as specified in the Commission's recommendation; and

5. WHEREAS the Commission continued the said investigation for the purpose of reporting to the President regarding any later action which might be found to be necessary to carry out the purposes of the said section 22; and

6. WHEREAS, after further investigation, including a hearing, for the purpose of determining what action, if any, should be taken under the said section 22 with respect to imports of certain tree nuts, to prevent imports of such nuts from entering during the 1952-53 crop year under such conditions and in such quantities as to render or tend to render ineffective, or materially interfere with, programs undertaken by the Department of Agriculture with respect to almonds, filberts, walnuts, or pecans, or to reduce substantially the amount of any product processed in the United States from domestic almonds, filberts, walnuts, or pecans, the Commission reported to me on September 25, 1952 its findings resulting from such investigation; and

7. WHEREAS, on the basis of such further investigation and report of the Commission, I find that shelled almonds, blanched, roasted, or otherwise prepared or preserved almonds (not including almond paste) are practically certain to be imported into the United States during the period October 1, 1952 to September 30, 1953, both dates inclusive, under such conditions and in such quantities as to render or tend to render ineffective, or materially interfere with the program undertaken by the Department of Agriculture with respect to almonds pursuant to the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended; and

8. WHEREAS, I find and declare that the imposition of the fees hereinafter proclaimed are shown by such investigation of the Commission to be necessary in order that the entry of imported shelled almonds, blanched,

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roasted, or otherwise prepared or preserved almonds (not including almond paste) will not render or tend to render ineffective, or materially interfere with, the said program undertaken by the Department of Agriculture with respect to almonds:

NOW THEREFORE, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the said section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, do hereby proclaim:

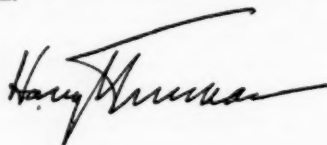
That a fee of 5 cents per pound shall be imposed upon shelled almonds and blanched, roasted, or otherwise prepared or preserved almonds (not including almond paste) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption during the period October 1, 1952 to September 30, 1953, both dates inclusive, until an aggregate quantity of 7,000,000 pounds of such almonds have been so entered or withdrawn during such period, and a fee of 10 cents per pound shall be imposed upon such almonds entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption during such period in excess of an aggregate quantity of 7,000,000 pounds: *Provided*, That in neither case shall the fee be in excess of 50 per centum ad valorem.

The fees imposed by this proclamation shall be in addition to any other duties imposed on the importation of the articles subject to such fees.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 27th day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-seventh.

[SEAL]



By the President:
DEAN ACHESON
Secretary of State.

Press Conference Statements by Secretary Acheson

The Secretary made the following extemporaneous remarks in reply to questions at his press conference on October 1 (press releases 771, 772, and 773):

Peiping "Peace Conference"

This conference is, of course, an obvious propaganda operation in which the Chinese Communists, while taking an active part in defying the United Nations and carrying the war into Korea and while joining with the Soviet Government in its violent "hate campaign," are continuing to hold "peace conferences." I think this deceives nobody.

In regard to your other question about the Americans, we have heard reports that certain American citizens were attending. From the reports that we have gotten, we think we have about 15 of these Americans identified. Now, some of them were in China already. However, no persons have been issued passports to attend this conference or have asked for passports to attend the conference.

All passports have been stamped since May 1, "Not valid for travel to . . . China . . ." We are now making efforts to find out whether any of the people that we have identified have obtained passports on false information furnished to the Department or whether they have violated the instruction which is on the passport. That is stamped on it as I have said, and there are appropriate statutes which cover both of these cases.

Austrian State Treaty

Well, the Russians did again exactly what they did last January. We asked them to come to a meeting of the deputies in London and set the date. The other three deputies arrived and no Russia. Instead of telling anyone in advance what they would do, or appearing, they again sent around a message as they did in January raising all these extraneous issues which are quite outside the field of the Austrian peace treaty.

I think if anyone had any additional proof that the Russians do not want to have a peace treaty, you have it here. Now, we and our British and French associates are determined to go ahead and do our very best to carry out the pledge which was made to the Austrian people in 1943, and therefore we shall continue our efforts to advance a peace treaty.

Korean Question in U.N.

Any rumor or report that the Government has decided to produce some new plan or has decided on any plan in regard to Korea in the General Assembly is quite untrue.

We are conducting, through our military representatives in Korea, the negotiations looking toward an armistice and you are familiar with what General Harrison has done there in the last few days.¹ Whether there will be an armistice or whether there will not be an armistice, I cannot tell you and I doubt whether anybody can tell you now except the people on the other side and they'll not do so, I take it, until the next meeting.

What happens in the negotiations will of course affect very largely what happens in the General Assembly. What we have been doing is exploring the situation with a great many delegations and working out various contingencies, various stands that we might take on various contingencies. Nothing has been firmed up and nothing can be in the nature of the situation.

I think this is what has given rise to the respective rumors lately.

What I am pointing out is that any report that we had crystallized our position or that we had come to conclusions as to what should be done is not correct.

¹ For Lt. Gen. William K. Harrison's proposals for settling the Korean prisoner-of-war issue, see BULLETIN of Oct. 6, 1952, p. 549.

The Problem of Dependent Peoples

by Philip C. Jessup

Ambassador at Large¹

The very natural, human impulse to try to simplify a complex problem almost inevitably leads to oversimplification. In thinking about international affairs, people tend to assume that the whole problem can be summed up in terms of conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. This, of course, is not true. One of the great fallacies in it is the revelation of the line of thought that we have a situation today comparable to that which was familiar to Europe prior to World War I in which the international situation was analyzed in terms of the balance of power and rivalries between two or more great powers or alliances of powers. The actual conflict today is between the Soviet Union and its satellites on the one hand, and the free world on the other. It is true that, because of its power, the United States is that country of the free world on which the Soviets tend to concentrate their attacks and pour out their venom. So far as we are concerned in the United States, we have no feeling of being alone in our resistance to the Soviet effort to obtain world domination by the use of its Communist parties backed by large armed forces.

The fact that there is diversity rather than rigid uniformity in the relations between various countries in the free world may well seem to the planners in the Kremlin to be an element of weakness. Actually, it is an illustration of the strength of a system which depends upon a cooperation of equals instead of on domination.

Canada and the United States are joined with 12 countries across the Atlantic in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As Mr. Pearson, your Minister of External Affairs, has said, Canada is no "yes-man" to the United States. To this we say, "Amen." Canada is connected with a number of other countries inside the flexible framework of the Commonwealth. The United

States has a close and long-established tie with the other republics of the Western Hemisphere, a tie that is formalized in the Organization of American States. We also have other special relationships including our recently concluded security treaties with the Philippines, Japan, and Australia and New Zealand. There are, however, many other countries with which we have close and friendly relations even though these are not expressed in the form of any special treaty.

Disagreements or controversies exist between and among a number of countries whom we count as our friends. These are disputes to which we are not a party. We do have, however, a very intense interest in seeing them settled. The interest arises not only out of the fact that we are a member of the United Nations and as such are interested in the peaceful settlement of all disputes. It arises also from that same reaction which any one of you as an individual feels when two of your friends are quarreling.

These disagreements among our friends include prominently the very difficult question of the relationship between states exercising the responsibility of governing other peoples and the peoples whom they govern. This is not by any means a new problem. Throughout recorded history, this kind of conflict has existed. Historically, the handling of the problem has been marked by selfishness, greed, and cruelty, and also by idealism and farsighted statesmanship. Peoples have not been hesitant to criticize their own government for its discharge of responsibilities to dependent peoples, and they have not been hesitant to criticize other governments.

Review of Dealings With Dependent Peoples

The United Kingdom has a long history of dealing with dependent peoples. A distinguished British colonial administrator, Sir Gordon Lethem, expressed the highest standard for discharging responsibilities in this field when he said:

¹ Address made before the Ottawa Women's Canadian Club at Ottawa on Sept. 25 (press release 749 dated Sept. 24).

Unless there is realized the need of meeting the human sentiments and ambitions and ideas for the future, even the prejudices and weaknesses, of the peoples concerned, and the adequate meeting of them made a very important criterion in planning, many of the schemes, no matter how well-conceived in themselves will fade to failure in the shimmer and mirage of the tropic sunshine.

When the United States took on the responsibility for administering the Philippines, I am proud to say that its Government was inspired by the same general thought. In the instructions to the first Philippine Commission, written by Elihu Root, as Secretary of War, and signed by President McKinley on April 7, 1900, the following standard was laid down:

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed, not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

Upon all officers and employees of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of duty to serve not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

France has equally expressed the French attitude toward these problems through the provision incorporated in the French Constitution of 1946 which declares:

Faithful to her traditional mission, France proposes to guide the peoples for whom she has assumed responsibility toward freedom to govern themselves and democratically to manage their own affairs; putting aside all systems of colonization founded on arbitrary power, she guarantees to all access to public office and the exercise of the individual or collective rights and liberties . . . which are conferred upon all Frenchmen by the Preamble to the Constitution.

Statesmanship Seeks a Steady Course

Secretary Acheson has frequently called attention to the fact that there is now a great surge of feeling through the world which gives expression to the national aspirations of many peoples who do not now have full control of their own affairs.

The United States supports the nationalist aspirations of those peoples who are progressively advancing toward the United Nations Charter's goal of selfgovernment or independence. It is the policy of our Government to use the full measure of its influence to support the attainment of greater freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it. We appreciate the advantages flowing from a transfer of authority which is based upon mutual accommodation. We recognize the farsighted statesmanship of those who transfer authority

and the sense of deep responsibility with which those who take authority assume the burdens of government.

There will always be the impatient ones who consider measured progress too slow, and the inflexibles who think that any step is taken too soon and goes too far. It is the part of statesmanship to steer a steady course between the "Scylla" of impatience and the "Charybdis" of inflexibility. It is the part of the United Nations, not to try to blast out the rocks on either side of the channel, but like some *deus ex machina* to disperse the storm clouds and provide favoring winds. Those who advocate particular courses of action must ask themselves in all honesty, "Will such proposals really contribute to the improvement of the given situation or are they merely for 'our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views'?"

The record of many countries in the free world, particularly since the end of the last war, is something in which they properly take pride. In accordance with our promises, the Philippines has become an independent state. Following the development of the British Commonwealth, full freedom has been granted to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma, of which the first three remain within the Commonwealth. Independent Indonesia, as a member of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, has also become a separate member of the United Nations where it shares with other members the position of "sovereign equality." The Associated States of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have attained their independence within the French Union, and would today be members of the United Nations in their own right if their applications like that of Ceylon had not suffered the Soviet veto.

On the other hand, no territory which was under Russian domination has been voluntarily released. On the contrary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have been overrun and absorbed. The formerly independent states of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Poland, while maintaining the trappings of separate existence, have lost their independence. Byelorussia and the Ukraine, the two constituent members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which are separate members of the United Nations, do not even have any contact with the outside world. Under Soviet regulations promulgated last January, their capitals are actually included in districts which the Soviet Government has closed to the entry of any foreigner.

Inside the U. S. S. R., the Volga German autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was abolished in 1940 and some 400,000 Volga Germans were deported *en masse* to Siberia. In 1946 the Chechen-Ingush A. S. S. R. was dissolved and the Crimean A. S. S. R. reorganized into a county. Some 650,000 Chechens and Crimean Tatars were "resettled," in the euphemistic term used by the

Government. The official reason stated was that during the war the "main mass" of the people in these two "autonomous republics" had been guilty of disloyal acts.

Continued Imperialistic Expansion by U. S. S. R.

In Asia, the Soviets have continued the imperialist expansion which was begun under the Czars. In 1871, Russian military forces occupied large areas of China's Sinkiang Province and retained control for 10 years. Withdrawal of these forces was secured only at the price of preferential treatment for Russian commerce. This same technique marked Sinkiang's relations with the Soviet Union from 1920 through 1933. Despite the fact that it recognized the Chinese Government in Peking, the Soviet Union pursued a dismemberment policy by negotiating directly with the Governor of the Province. From 1933 onward, Soviet control of Sinkiang was increasingly overt until the European war obliged the Soviet Union to withdraw its official and garrison forces. But the retreat was only temporary. Soviet-oriented elements soon gained control of the western part of the Province. Chinese Communist forces progressively extended their authority until, in 1949, the process of removing Sinkiang from the effective control of the Nationalist Government of China was completed.

In Mongolia, a similar pattern has prevailed. Even the division of this huge area into Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia was the product of the secret treaty between the Russian and Japanese Governments in 1907. Following the Chinese revolution in 1911 and the proclamation of Outer Mongolian independence, Russia demanded that no Chinese units be stationed in Outer Mongolia, but continued to keep its own troops there.

Beginning with the occupation of Outer Mongolia's capital city by the Red army in 1921, the Soviet Union has clearly established that it is no less determined than the Czars to maintain an imperialistic sphere of influence in this region. Although pledged to treat Outer Mongolia "as an integral part of the Republic of China," the Soviet Government ignored the authority of the Nationalist Government even to the extent of exercising consular functions abroad on behalf of Outer Mongolia. Today, although Outer Mongolia is allowed to have even less contact with the world than the Ukraine and Byelorussia, the Soviets block the admission to the United Nations of such states as Italy, Japan, and Ceylon until Outer Mongolia is also admitted.

The fate of Tannu Tuva may indicate what is in store for Outer Mongolia. In 1921, Tannu Tuva declared itself independent. But in October 1944, its independence disappeared and it was annexed to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government did not even bother to announce that the annexation had taken place until 2 years later.

The fate of Outer Mongolia and Tannu Tuva is

suggestive of the plans the Kremlin has in mind for other peoples whom it hopes to ensnare with its special brand of "national independence." The spider is hungry and alert to snare and devour the unwary. The blueprint of the Soviet plan for perverting noble causes was stated quite blandly in an article in the *Moscow University Herald* of December 9, 1951:

First, incite nationalism, which is inherent in all races.

Second, promote a national "united front" including if necessary vacillating bourgeois political parties.

Third, let the working class and its political party, the Communist Party, seize leadership of the United Front.

Fourth, form an alliance of the working class and the peasantry, led by the Communist Party.

Fifth, the Communist Party takes complete control, ousting the others.

Sixth, remember that true national independence can be achieved only in unity with the Soviet Union. There is no third, middle, or neutral road. The choice is between the camp of imperialism on the one hand and the camp of socialism and democracy on the other hand.

Seventh, form powerful "Peoples' Liberation Armies" under the leadership of the Communist Party. Identify the struggle of the masses with the armed struggle which is the chief activity in "colonial" national liberation movements.

The Kremlin's Subjugation Plan

There is nothing new in the tedious Communist program which I have just quoted. The Kremlin's plan for the subjugation of dependent peoples—and particularly Asiatic peoples—goes back at least as far as Stalin's famous formulation in his book on the problems of Leninism. There, as we will do well to remember, Stalin pointed out that the first task of the Communist movement in Asia was to promote nationalism in order to throw out the old colonial powers; when nationalism had been pushed to the point of ousting the responsible governments, the theme would then shift to internationalism in the sense of the Communist International and "unity" with the Soviet Union. But the history of responsible nationalism in India, Indonesia, Vietnam, and elsewhere proves that the Communist plot has not succeeded in its calculated deceit.

Thus, while in recent years other great powers have helped dependent peoples along the path to self-government, the Soviet Union has concentrated on absorbing its neighbors into the monolithic Soviet hegemony. Westward through Europe and eastward through Asia, Soviet imperialism has pushed its way—"liberating" nations from the cares and responsibilities of freedom.

It is interesting to note that the Soviets, in welding together their vast land empire, have tried to make a virtue of necessity by promulgating the theory that there is something evil about any control which extends over a great body of water. They seem to think there is some magic interrestrial contact. Like other Marxist-Leninist dogma which outlive their usefulness, this notion would, of course, immediately be a prohibited

bourgeois thought if the Soviets could get their hands on any overseas territories. Although there was no competition in this sport at the Olympic Games, the Soviets could enter an unbeatable team in the mental gymnastics of shifting from such positions as antinazism to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and from anguished complaints about the "remilitarization" of Germany to the proposal of March 10, 1952, for a German national army.

The peoples of the world which have not yet attained the full measure of self-government vary widely in their geography, their population, their advancement in the art of self-government, and their desire for freedom. This is recognized in chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations which calls upon those exercising responsibility in developing self-government "to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement." Furthermore, in chapter XII of the Charter, which lays the basis for the international trusteeship system, it is recognized that some territories may develop local self-government and that other territories may eventually achieve full independence.

U.S.-U.N. Approach

The U. N. General Assembly realized the existence of such differences when it came to discharge the responsibility given to it under the Italian peace treaty, to determine the future of the former Italian Colonies in North Africa. These colonies were three in number: Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland. In each place there were individuals and groups who aspired to immediate independence and these aspirants had their supporters among other peoples of the world. However, in the course of long debates extending over three sessions of the General Assembly, the United Nations reached differing decisions with respect to the three different situations confronting it. In the case of Libya, it was agreed that Libya should be independent no later than January 1, 1952, and that meanwhile a U. N. commission and commissioner would assist the administering powers in preparing for transition. In the case of Somaliland, it was decided that the people were further away from the stage at which they could assume responsibility for the complete control of their own affairs, and the territory was put under trusteeship with a promise of independence at the end of 10 years. In the case of Eritrea, it was finally determined that Eritrea and Ethiopia would form a federation under the Ethiopian Crown.

We in the United States have had our own experience with these problems. At the end of the Spanish-American War, we found ourselves in actual control of three places which had been ruled by Spain—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

In the case of Cuba, we followed the congressional declaration made at the outset of the war "that the people of the Island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent." Our Army was withdrawn as soon as the Cubans had time to call a constitutional convention, frame their constitution and set up their Government. In the case of the Philippines, full independence would have been given in 1944 had it not been for the war with Japan, which required the postponement of liberation until July 4, 1946, when the free and independent Philippine Republic was established.

In the case of Puerto Rico, military government was rapidly replaced by civil government with the Governor and other major officers appointed by the President of the United States. In 1917, the Puerto Ricans were permitted to select their own legislature which could transmit to the President of the United States any bill vetoed by the Governor. In 1947, Congress passed further legislation permitting the Puerto Ricans to elect their own Governor, and a Puerto Rican Governor was so elected in 1948. In 1950, Congress adopted another law which they said was "in the nature of a compact" between the Congress and the people of Puerto Rico. Under this act, the Puerto Ricans were to draw up their own constitution and organize their own Government. This proposal was by its own terms submitted to a referendum of the Puerto Rican people and was approved. Accordingly, the Puerto Ricans in 1951 held a constitutional convention and drew up a constitution providing for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico which now exists. In this constitution the people of Puerto Rico say that they created this Commonwealth "within our union with the United States of America."

The United States also has responsibility over other peoples who are not so far advanced in terms of capabilities for full autonomy. In connection with the improvement of the conditions of these peoples and the process of leading them toward a fuller capacity and better life, we have joined in the work of international commissions. In regard to the Virgin Islands, we are members of the Caribbean Commission to which Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands also belong. We join with representatives of those countries in studying the problems of the people of the area. In the Pacific area, where we are in charge of American Samoa, Guam, and the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, we work in the South Pacific Commission in which also Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands participate along with Australia and New Zealand.

Pending Problems at Next U.N. Session

The General Assembly of the United Nations will be called upon in its session which begins next month to deal with problems of the kind which

I have been describing. The considerations noted above might well be kept in mind by the various delegations who will surely wish to approach these subjects with a deep sense of responsibility and with a desire to contribute to the real achievement of progress in the development of peoples for whom they have a feeling of concern.

There are legitimate causes for complaint against governmental treatment of persons within its power. The Department of State has recently issued a pamphlet,² in which it exposes in detail the system of concentration camps and forced labor which prevail in the Soviet Union and which are the fate of many non-Soviet peoples over whom the Soviets have secured control by the use of force. The constant effort, fortunately often successful, of thousands of persons who escape from the Soviet Union and its satellites, is further evidence of the conditions prevailing in the U. S. S. R. One has only to remember the millions who fled from the Soviet area in North Korea to South Korea even before the Communist aggression began in 1950. One recalls also that there has been a steady flow of refugees from the Eastern European satellites and from Eastern Germany into the free West. When the Soviets began their recent program of further isolating East Germany from the rest of Germany, people poured across the frontier at the rate of over a thousand a day. The evil of the situation is clearly established in spite of the Iron Curtain which attempts to conceal it.

The totalitarian Communist system with its total disregard of moral standards and respect for the rights of the individual is responsible for the situation behind the Iron Curtain. In the free world, where government exists for the benefit of the governed, it has been proved that a government can exercise responsibility for the development of a minority group under its control without such abuses. Therefore, the mere existence of such a relationship between those who govern and those who are governed is not *in and of itself* proof that the government is evil. One cannot start in considering any such case with a glib assumption that such peoples should immediately be established as a separate independent state, or even that they are in a position fully to administer their own affairs. There are, for instance, American Indians and Eskimos under the jurisdiction of your country and of mine and large American Indian communities in many Latin American countries. There are several millions of primitive tribesmen in India. The Kurds in Iran and Iraq have for decades had leaders arguing for their independence. There are such peo-

ples in the Philippines as the Igorots and Negritos. There are the Nagas in Burma.

The fact that such peoples are racially different from the predominant group in the states does not of itself mean that they should be separated from those states and set up as independent countries. Self-determination in the international area, like individualism in the national area, is a useful principle but not an absolute one. Carried to extremes, it invites chaos.

The United Nations, through the discussions in its Trusteeship Council and in the Commission on Dependent Territories, has the regular—although not the exclusive—machinery for the study of problems such as these. Cases may exist or may arise in which the General Assembly can make a contribution by considering dispassionately and on the merits particular situations. In doing so, however, the Assembly must consider under all of the circumstances in each case whether its action will be actually helpful or harmful to the people concerned.

This is not the occasion for discussing in detail particular items which have been proposed for inclusion on the agenda of the pending session of the General Assembly. The U.S. position on these items will, of course, be stated at the appropriate time. What I have tried to do today is to explain some of the problems with which foreign policy must deal and to indicate what I believe to be some of the underlying considerations to be taken into account in determining policies.

These problems which I have discussed are merely illustrative of the general proposition with which I started. There are strains and stresses in the world today. There are conflicts and jealousies between and among many groups of states. The real purpose of the United Nations, I repeat, is to try to provide an atmosphere of tranquility in which the solutions of these problems can be sought without prejudice and without passion.

Letters of Credence

Guatemala

The newly appointed Ambassador of Guatemala, Guillermo Toriello, presented his credentials to the President on September 24. For text of the Ambassador's remarks and of the President's reply, see Department of State press release 751 of September 24.

Iran

The newly appointed Ambassador of Iran, Alah-Yar Saleh, presented his credentials to the President on September 24. For text of the Ambassador's remarks and of the President's reply, see Department of State press release 752 of September 24.

² *Forced Labor in the Soviet Union*, Department of State publication 4716 (for excerpts, see BULLETIN of Sept. 22, 1952, p. 428).

First Caribbean Conference on Home Economics and Education in Nutrition

by Lydia J. Roberts

A recent conference held in Trinidad, B. W. I., illustrated the growing and continuing interest in home economics and education in nutrition throughout the Caribbean area, and the recognition there of the importance of work in this field for the improvement of home and family life.

From June 30 to July 5, 1952, at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, under the joint sponsorship of the Caribbean Commission and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), specialists in agriculture, education, health, and social welfare met for the first international conference on problems and developments in the Caribbean with respect to home economics and education in nutrition. The purpose of the conference was to promote an exchange of information and ideas, explore ways in which participating countries and territories might be of mutual assistance, and obtain advice on how the sponsoring agencies might be of greatest service in promoting sound programs of home economics and nutrition in the area. The careful preparations for this conference by the Commission and FAO reflected the growing recognition by governments members of FAO that more attention should be paid to home economics and nutrition both as a means of promoting the better utilization of food and raising living standards.

The conference was attended by 36 delegates and observers. Official participants came from Barbados, British Guiana, Dominican Republic, the French Caribbean Departments, Jamaica, the Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, Surinam, Trinidad and Tobago, the Virgin Islands, and the Windward Islands; the Governments of France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States; the Holy See; and the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the two sponsoring agencies.

The U.S. delegation was composed of Lydia J. Roberts, head of the Home Economics Depart-

ment, University of Puerto Rico, who was chairman of the delegation and also served as chairman of the conference; Miss Ata Lee, Program Specialist, Home Economics Education, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency; and Dr. Esther Seijo de Zayas, Director of the Bureau of Nutrition and Dietetics, Department of Health of Puerto Rico. All members of the delegation participated actively in the work of the conference, and the three from Puerto Rico presented a symposium on home improvement programs in Puerto Rico.

Since home economics in the Caribbean is in its early stages of development (except in Puerto Rico) and was of concern to the workers in all fields represented at the conference, the group met as a whole in order that all participants might derive maximum benefit from the discussions on the different specialties.

As a first step, the conference clarified its conception of home economics as education for family living. Home economics is now becoming more and more concerned with the broad aspects of family and home life—nutrition, meal planning and food preparation, housing, adequate and safe water supply and sanitary facilities, home management, clothing for the family, care of children, relations of members within the family and in the community, and other problems related to the well-being of the family—in contrast to the earlier conception of this field as being limited to methods of performing household tasks.

The conference considered the extent and type of training being offered in the field of family-life education in the Caribbean, the problems encountered, and ways in which more effective programs can be promoted. Attention was centered on education in family betterment through extension work, through the schools and school-feeding programs, and through health, social welfare, and voluntary organizations. The need for coopera-

tion among these agencies was stressed, and special emphasis was given to the need for more and better trained workers in this field.

The conference formulated 35 specific recommendations for extending and improving work in this important field on family living. Comment on some of the major discussions and their outcomes follows.

Extension

The term "extension" is applied to the process by which knowledge is passed on to families and community groups through informal teaching. Through common usage, the term has become associated chiefly with education in rural areas through agricultural agencies. Extension in home economics, however, should not be confined to agricultural education, but should include instruction given by any agency concerned with better family living.

Most of the countries represented at the conference have at least the beginnings of an agricultural extension program. In most cases, however, the only persons employed are men agents who work on problems of soil, crops, livestock raising, and on other problems of farm management, so that the home making and home improvement aspects of a rural betterment program are neglected.

The conference stressed that a joint program for both farm and home improvement is essential if real success is to be attained in improving living conditions of rural families. It recommended that trained home economists be employed along with agricultural agents to work with the families on problems of the home, and that the training of both men and women agents be broadened to include certain aspects of the other's field so that they can render maximum service to families with whom they come in contact.

For example, it was pointed out that if men agents had some training in simple carpentry, they could help the families in various phases of home improvement such as building cupboards, shelves, and smokeless fireplaces and making simple home repairs. With an elementary knowledge of nutrition they could emphasize the need for providing a milk supply for the family, the importance of a home vegetable garden, and the best types of vegetables to grow. Similarly, the woman agent with some training in agronomy could help to promote and teach home gardening, and the care of chickens, pigs, and rabbits as a means of providing better nutrition for the family. Such broadened training of the workers would extend and strengthen the program, especially until such time as an adequate number of both farm and home agents is supplied.

Recognition was given in the discussions to the valuable service that can be rendered in family-life education by workers from various agencies who have contact with the homes in some capacity. Among these are social welfare workers, nurses,

health officers, and workers in a variety of voluntary organizations. Each of these touches some aspect of family life and could, with a broader training and outlook, render a valuable contribution to education for better home living. The conference recommended that every effort be made to encourage, train, and utilize such workers in promoting programs in family life.

Home economics in some form and to some extent is included in the school curriculum in all the countries represented. Its scope, however, varies widely. Most commonly it is limited to the teaching of cooking, sewing, laundry, and housewifery. Yet the teaching of even these subjects is often unrealistic and unrelated to the pupil's needs. Moreover, only a small proportion of the school population is reached. Even in schools where the subject is taught, many pupils receive no training in it since it is offered only to girls 11 years of age and over and many leave school at a younger age.

Home Economics in the Schools

As remedies for this situation, the conference suggested: That home economics be taught in all schools, elementary and secondary, and be made available to all pupils regardless of sex or academic proficiency; that a broader interpretation be given to the subject so as to include the more important aspects of family living, especially nutrition, child development, and family relationships; that every effort be made to teach all boys the use of simple tools, and that manual training include the production of articles which could be used for improving their own homes and the making of simple home repairs; that the work in home economics begin at a lower age level in order to reach students before they leave school; and that late afternoon and evening classes in home economics be given for the benefit of girls who have left school and also for adults.

It is not enough merely to provide for training in home economics. It is important to insure that the training will be realistic in relation to the needs of the homes from which the pupils come. The teacher, through home visits, should become familiar with these needs and should plan her teaching to make the maximum contribution toward filling them. To this end the equipment for teaching in the school should bear some relationship to that found in the homes, and the foods and other materials used should be ones that are familiar and are available to the families. Supervised home projects should also help to carry over the school's teaching into practical home betterment.

Education in Nutrition

The need for strengthening the program of nutrition and making it more effective in terms of the needs of the people was emphasized through-

out the discussions. Greater effort, it was believed, should be made to base nutrition teaching on the needs of the people as revealed by a study of their diets, their food customs, their facilities for preparing food, and their resources.

School Gardens—Although school gardens are fairly common in the Caribbean area, too often they are used solely for show and in competition for prizes. They have little or no influence in stimulating home gardens or in education in nutrition. Yet the school garden if effectively utilized could be valuable in improving the nutrition of the community. The vegetables grown in them should be those that contribute most to good nutrition; the foods produced in the garden should be used in the homes and/or in school-feeding programs; the pupils should be encouraged to cultivate plots at home under the school's supervision; and the students and their parents should be taught the value of the vegetable garden in promoting better health for the family. The school garden for winning of prizes should be discouraged.

School Feeding Programs—All territories in the area have some form of school or community feeding, but there is great variety in total coverage and in procedures. In some only 5 percent of the school population is reached, in others the large majority. The food served varies from a complete meal to a snack consisting of milk only, or of milk and biscuits, which in some cases are fortified with food yeast. Requirements for admission to the programs also vary. Some programs are limited to the most needy children; in others, factors such as distance from school may also be considered. In some places, contributions from the children are required or encouraged, either in money, food, or fuel; in others, the lunches are entirely free.

In practically all cases the limited funds available make it difficult to provide a balanced meal for any considerable number of children. Frequently, too, the funds available are not used to best advantage. Too great a use is often made of canned foods and vitamin tablets when the needs could be better and more economically supplied by locally produced foods. The educational value of the feeding program is not adequately utilized.

The conference recommended that when funds are limited it is preferable to give a nutritious snack that supplements home meals to a larger number of children rather than to serve a complete meal to a few; that the greatest possible use be made of fresh vegetables and fruits in preference to imported canned or synthetic substitutes; that when there is an insufficient supply of fresh milk at reasonable price, efforts be made to utilize dry skim milk as it is a low cost food of high nutritional value; and that the educational value, both nutritional and social, of any feeding program be fully utilized.

Joint Action in Home Improvement Programs

There is need for joint action of school, home, and community in promoting home-improvement programs. Families, teachers, community groups, and agencies should plan together if maximum benefit is to be derived from their efforts. All of the government agencies, voluntary organizations, and religious groups engaged in activities affecting some aspect of home life are hampered by lack of adequate trained personnel, space, equipment, funds, or other resources.

The conference stressed the fact that far more could be accomplished in raising the standards of family living, even with the present workers and facilities, if there were joint planning and effective cooperation among these agencies. Although it is the policy of these groups to cooperate in carrying out their programs, coordination is usually infrequent and ineffective, since the initiation of cooperative effort is left to the individual agencies. It was the belief of the conference that to be effective such cooperation should be provided for at the policy-making levels of the governments of the territories in the area. It therefore recommended that governments take steps to facilitate such coordination at the appropriate governmental level.

Publications and Other Teaching Aids

The need for books and other teaching aids for home improvement programs was pointed out. Pamphlets and leaflets dealing in simple language with home problems are especially needed. Movies, filmstrips, and slides are also useful adjuncts. There is a special need for a textbook on home economics for elementary schools suited to West Indian conditions and customs.

In some territories no funds are available for such teaching materials; in most they are limited. Since conditions and needs are similar in the various territories, maximum use could be made of available materials by providing for their exchange. The conference therefore recommended that the Caribbean Commission be requested to serve as a clearinghouse for the interchange of teaching materials and aids among the territories, and that all governments be asked to send copies of selected materials published in their respective countries which might be useful to others.

Training of Workers

Throughout the conference the need for more and better-trained workers was repeatedly voiced. It was recognized that the level of work can never rise above the level of training of the workers. Few opportunities exist in the Caribbean for training of home economics workers at college level except in Puerto Rico where the University offers a 4-year course leading to a B. Sc. degree. In other territories limited training in domestic subjects is

given in some training institutions; some students attend colleges outside the area.

The conference made several suggestions for improving the situation. It recommended that, until further facilities are available, the University of Puerto Rico be utilized for the preparation of workers in home economics for the whole area; that its assistance be especially sought in developing regional training by offering short courses to workers in the area; and that the Caribbean Commission approach the University regarding the possibility of a 3-month course to be offered during 1953, and request Fao to grant fellowships for the proposed training course. The conference also suggested that one or more centers be established in the area to offer 1-year courses in home economics, and that the University College of the West Indies be invited to formulate a long-term policy looking toward the establishment of degree courses in home economics and postgraduate courses in nutrition.

Technical Cooperation and Coordination

The conference noted that although many international, national, and private organizations offer various types of technical assistance, such services are not widely used in the Caribbean. Many problems confronting the area, such as the need for public education in all matters affecting the child and the parent-child relationship, data on the nutritional value of foods produced and consumed, improvement of the limited food and agricultural resources available, and the coordination and development of a sound home-economics program, could be attacked cooperatively if the available technical assistance were utilized. Accordingly, the conference recommended that the attention of governments be called to the technical assistance offered by international and other organizations, and specified several projects for which the Caribbean Commission should request help now in order to further the improvement of family and home life in the area.

There was general agreement among the participants that the Conference was a fruitful one. The conference voiced its belief that such meetings of technical workers are valuable in enabling workers to exchange views and experiences and so derive a better understanding of the problems in the entire area, to keep abreast of progress in such matters as are continually under review, to ascertain to what extent the several proposals put forward are being implemented or are capable of achievement, and, in the light of the findings, to determine the next course of action. The conference unanimously recommended that a similar conference on home economics and nutrition be held in the Caribbean every 3 years.

International Materials Conference

Pulp-Paper Committee Ends Work

The Pulp-Paper Committee of the International Materials Conference announced on September 23 that its member governments have accepted a recommendation that it be dissolved forthwith.

This action was based upon further evidence of improvement in the supply position of dissolving wood pulp and newsprint in the free countries of the world, since its last appraisal in July.

Specifically, the Committee reported:

1. A record level of North American production for January-July 1952, which shows an increase of almost 4 percent over the corresponding period of 1951.
2. An encouraging increase in exports from North American sources to other parts of the world despite the sustained high level of North American consumption.
3. Lack of requests for emergency supplies of newsprint.
4. A continued satisfactory newsprint supply situation in Europe.
5. Increased inventories in some consuming countries and notably in the United States.

The Pulp-Paper Committee has been in existence since April 30, 1951, and was set up to examine and recommend action on newsprint and wood-pulp supply problems. A number of emergency allocations of newsprint were made in 1951 and early 1952 to 18 countries in all. The Committee did not find it necessary at any stage to recommend allocations of wood pulp.

Fifteen countries were represented on the Pulp-Paper Committee. They were Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Distribution of Primary Copper

The Copper-Zinc-Lead Committee of the International Materials Conference (IMC) on September 30 announced that its member governments have accepted its proposals for the allocation of copper for the fourth quarter of 1952.

The Committee has noted a steady improvement in the supply position during the year and certain indications that the market is easing. Nevertheless, requirements for defense and essential civilian purposes, as stated by Governments, continue at a level which, in the view of the Committee, does not justify the discontinuance of allocation at this time.

The Committee again agreed to make arrangements whereby domestic users in the United States or in other countries would have the opportunity

to purchase any copper allocated to other countries participating in the International Materials Conference and not used by them.

In accepting the Committee's recommendations, the Chilean Government made a reservation by which, without reference to the distribution plan, it may dispose of a limited tonnage of its copper. Notwithstanding this reservation, the Chilean Government has stated its desire to take into account the recommendations of the Committee and to consider them whenever possible.

The Committee has recommended a plan of distribution¹ of 747,655 metric tons of copper in the fourth quarter, as compared with 744,290 metric tons for the third quarter. Direct defense needs have again been given priority.

The allocation to each country is based upon its requirements for defense and essential civilian production. The U. S. allocation of 362,000 tons includes, however, provision for direct defense needs, essential civilian production, and stockpiling. Furthermore, the United States is authorized to purchase an additional 16,000 tons specifically for strategic stockpiling.

Primary copper only (blister and refined) is included in the plan. As in previous quarters, semi-fabricated products have not been allocated, but all exporting countries are again asked to maintain their exports of such semis at a level commensurate with their allocations of primary metal for civilian consumption, in accordance with normal patterns of trade.

Twelve countries are represented on the Committee. They are Australia, Belgium (representing Benelux), Canada, Chile, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Peru, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The plan of distribution has been forwarded also to the governments of 26 other countries, not represented on the Committee, for which allocations have been recommended.

Wool Committee of IMC To Be Dissolved

The Wool Committee of the International Materials Conference (IMC) announced on September 29 that its member governments have agreed that it be dissolved at this time.

This action was based on evidence that wool is no longer in short supply in the free countries of the world.

The Committee has been in existence since April 2, 1951, and was set up by the member governments "to consider and recommend or report to governments concerning specific action which should be taken in the case of wool in order to expand production, increase availability, conserve supplies, and arrive at the most effective distribution and

utilization of supplies among consuming countries." In accordance with these terms of reference the Committee kept the statistical position of wool under continuous review but never decided to recommend allocation or other international action regarding distribution of wool supply.

Eleven countries were represented on the Committee: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay.

Distribution of Nickel and Cobalt

The Manganese-Nickel-Cobalt Committee of the International Materials Conference (IMC) on September 30 announced its recommended distribution of nickel and cobalt for the fourth quarter of 1952. The countries represented on the Committee are Belgium (for Benelux), Brazil, Canada, Cuba, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

All of the 14 member governments have agreed to comply with both plans of distribution,² which have been forwarded to other interested governments for implementation.

As in the third quarter, the Committee agreed to make arrangements whereby domestic consumers in the United States, or in other countries, would have the opportunity to purchase any nickel or cobalt allocated to countries participating in the IMC and not used by any such participating country.

The nickel distribution covers all primary forms of metal and oxides, but has not included salts since December 31, 1951. The availabilities for this quarter have been estimated at 37,060 metric tons of nickel content, against an amount of 36,580 tons in the third quarter. Although this represents an anticipated increase of some 480 tons over the third quarter, the essential needs of the free world continue to increase at the same time, due mainly to growing demands for defense. It is inevitable, therefore, that the allocations recommended will be insufficient to meet the full requirements of most countries.

The total quantity of cobalt available for distribution, which includes primary metal, oxides and salts, amounts to 2,890 tons of cobalt content for this quarter, while estimates for the third quarter showed total availabilities at 2,475 tons. In view of this improvement in the supply position, which is likely to develop further in the first part of 1953, the Committee will consider, before the end of the present year, whether or not the international distribution of cobalt should be continued beyond December 31, 1952.

¹ Not printed here; see IMC press release dated Sept. 29.

² Not printed here; see IMC press release of Sept. 30.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

South Pacific Commission

The Department of State announced on October 3 (press release 779) that the U.S. delegation at the tenth session of the South Pacific Commission, to be convened at Nouméa, New Caledonia, on October 6, 1952, will be as follows:

Senior Commissioner

Felix M. Keesing, Professor of Anthropology, Stanford University

Acting Commissioner

Robert R. Robbins, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Advisers

Philip E. Haring, American Consul, Nouméa
John C. Elliott, Governor, American Samoa

The South Pacific Commission was created in 1948 by the Governments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States to serve as a consultative and advisory body to those Governments in matters affecting the welfare and advancement of the peoples of the 17 non-self-governing territories within the scope of the Commission. The ninth session of the Commission, which holds two regular sessions each year, was held at Nouméa, New Caledonia, April 28-May 7, 1952. Commissioners and advisers from the six member governments attend the sessions.

The general purpose of the forthcoming meeting is to further cooperation among the participating Governments in promoting economic and social development in the territories of the region. The principal items to be considered at this session are the progress of work projects, including reports on the South Pacific Fisheries Conference (Nouméa, May 1952), coral atoll development, the establishment of the Central Vocational Training Institute, housing, and nutrition; preparations for the second South Pacific Conference (1953); report of the fourth meeting of the South Pacific Research Council, together with the appointment of members of that body for 1953; appointment of an executive officer for economic development; the 1953 budget; and publications. Other related administrative and financial matters will also be discussed.

Plenipotentiary Conference of ITU

The Department of State announced on October 1 (press release 774) that the U.S. delegation to the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) International Plenipotentiary Conference, scheduled to begin at Buenos Aires, October 1, 1952, will be as follows:

Chairman

Francis Colt de Wolf, Chief, Telecommunications Policy Staff, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Harvey B. Otterman, Associate Chief, Telecommunications Policy Staff, Department of State

Members

E. E. Berthold, Captain, U.S.N., Director of Communications, Western Sea Frontier, Department of Defense
Sidney Cummins, International Administration Officer, Division of International Administration, Department of State
Louis E. DeLaFleur, Assistant Chief, Frequency Allocation and Treaty Division, Federal Communications Commission
Mucio F. Delgado, Special Assistant to the Chief, Office of International Broadcasting, International Information Administration, Department of State
John D. Tomlinson, Adviser, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Florence A. Trail, Telecommunications Policy Staff, Department of State

Adviser

Philip F. Silling, Engineer-in-Charge, RCA Frequency Bureau, Radio Corporation of America

The Plenipotentiary Conference is the supreme organ of the ITU, an organization which for more than 85 years has assured the international regulation of telegraphs and telephones (first by wire and later by both wire and radio) so well that most people are not aware of its existence, merely assuming that their telegrams and telephone calls to points abroad will go forward without interruption, that their planes and ships will be guided by radio in perfect safety, and that they can watch or listen to their favorite television or radio program without interference.

Under the terms of the International Telecommunication Convention of October 2, 1947, the Plenipotentiary Conference, which meets once every 5 years, is required to consider the report of the Administrative Council of ITU on the activities of the Union; establish the basis for the budget of the Union for the next 5 years; finally approve the accounts of the Union; elect the members of the ITU Administrative Council; revise the convention if it considers this necessary; if necessary, enter into any formal agreement or revise any existing formal agreement between the Union and any other international body; and deal with such other telecommunication questions as may be necessary. The principal purpose of the forthcoming conference is to consider such revisions of the convention as have been proposed.

The United States has taken an active role in this organization in keeping with its outstanding communications interests. This Government is among the ITU member states which have submitted proposals for revision of the convention and its annexes.

Contracting Parties to GATT

The Department of State announced on October 3 (press release 775) that the U.S. delegation to the seventh session of the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which convened at Geneva on October 2, 1952 is as follows:

Chairman

Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Raymond Vernon, Deputy Director, Office of Economic Defense and Trade Policy, Department of State

Special Adviser to Chairman

J. Thomas Schneider, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Commerce

Advisers

Louis C. Boochever, Jr., Office of European Regional Affairs, Department of State

George Bronz, Special Assistant to the General Counsel, Department of the Treasury

John J. Czyzak, Office of Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, Department of State

Mortimer D. Goldstein, Assistant Chief, Exchange Restrictions and Payments Agreements, Monetary Affairs Staff, Department of State

Joseph A. Greenwald, Economic Officer, American Consulate General, Geneva

John W. Hight, Economic Specialist, Office of the Special Representative in Europe, Mutual Security Agency, Paris

W. E. Higman, Chief, Division of Classification, Entry, and Value, Bureau of Customs, Department of the Treasury

Florence Kirlin, Special Assistant, Congressional Relations, Department of State

Robert B. Schwenger, Chief, Regional Investigation Branch, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

William O. Shofner, Staff Assistant, Office of Price, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

Clarence S. Siegel, Assistant Director, European Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

Executive Secretary

Henry F. Nichol, Conference Attaché, American Consulate General, Geneva

Technical Secretary

Ruth S. Donahue, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State

Members of Staff

Angelina G. Agin, American Consulate General, Geneva

Alexander E. Giffin, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State

Eleanor J. Hockman, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State

Audrey Macfarland, Geneva

Vivian Morrison, Office of Economic Defense and Trade Policy, Department of State

Pursuant to a recommendation of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, negotiations in which

23 countries participated were carried on at Geneva in 1947 for the purpose of effecting a reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and of eliminating preferences on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. Those negotiations resulted in the formulation of the General Agreement and of a protocol of provisional application of that agreement. Further tariff negotiations have taken place and the number of contracting states is now thirty-four.

The General Agreement provides that representatives of the contracting parties shall meet from time to time for the purpose of facilitating the operation and furthering the objectives of the agreement. The sixth session was held at Geneva, September 17-October 26, 1951.

Working Party on Mobilization of Domestic Capital (ECAFE)

The Department of State announced on September 22 (press release 743) that the U.S. delegation to the second meeting of the Working Party of Experts on the Mobilization of Domestic Capital, sponsored by the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), to be held at Bangkok, September 22-27, 1952, is as follows:

Chairman

George Springsteen, Jr., Investment and Economic Development Staff, Department of State

Members

Konrad Bekker, Economic Officer and Attaché, American Embassy, New Delhi

Flournoy H. Coles, Jr., Economist, Mutual Security Agency Mission, Bangkok

Herbert K. May, Treasury Attaché, American Embassy, Manila

Lynn Olson, Vice Consul, American Embassy, Bangkok

The United States was active in stimulating the organization of the first meeting of the Working Party, held at Bangkok in November of 1951, which made certain specific and practical suggestions looking toward the increased use of domestic capital resources in the economic development of the countries of the ECAFE region. It is believed that successful implementation of those proposals would lead to better marshaling of internal capital for developmental purposes thus strengthening Far Eastern economies.

A number of studies which have been undertaken by participating governments and the secretariat in accordance with the work program approved by ECAFE will be submitted to the Working Party. Participants in the meeting will discuss (1) measures being taken and experience of countries in encouraging the mobilization of domestic capital, including institutional and other developments, and the relation of tax and fiscal policies to the mobilization of private capital; (2) industrial and agricultural development and finance corporations; (3) relation between foreign

capital and mobilization of domestic capital; and (4) the work program of the ECAFE secretariat in the field of finance.

The first meeting of the Working Party was attended by representatives of 11 member governments and 6 associate member governments of ECAFE, besides observers from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the

International Monetary Fund, and the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (on behalf of Japan). Several officials from the ministries of finance, central banks, and cooperative and other savings institutions of the countries of the region were among the representatives. Attendance at the forthcoming meeting is open to the 14 members and the 10 associate members of ECAFE.

The United States in the United Nations

[Oct. 6-10, 1952]

General Assembly

Collective Measures Committee.—Harding Bancroft (U.S.), on October 6, made the following statement:

I should like to pay tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, for the continued constructive guidance you have given to the Committee in its second year of work. We have, I think, added a useful supplement to the foundations laid in our first report.

Lists have been prepared which are now available for use when the Security Council or General Assembly decides upon or recommends a selective embargo on exports to an aggressor or to a state which threatens international peace.

Further consideration has been given to the role of the specialized agencies. They, as well as other international agencies and arrangements, are part of the fabric of collective peace.

Further work has been done on the question of equitable sharing of the burdens involved in collective action, and we have suggested the need for some machinery to deal with this problem when it arises.

The committee has studied the important subject of obtaining the maximum contribution from states in support of collective action and has suggested the possibility, and outlined the functions, of a negotiating committee to deal directly with nations for this purpose.

We have tried by appropriate letters to states to continue to encourage them to take the preparatory steps recommended by the Assembly in the Uniting for Peace resolution and in the resolution adopted in Paris in January of this year. . . . There is no time when it can be said that the United Nations has a perfected system of collective security. It is a long term enterprise. Our recommendations suggest the methods and the machinery for carrying forward the momentum under the principles of the Charter.

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.—Except for its draft report, the Subcommission completed its 5th session on October 7 with adoption by a vote of 9-2 (U.K., Belgium) of a comprehensive resolution on its future work program.

The text of this resolution—a compromise between the tripartite proposal of Mr. Masani (India), Mr. Meneses-Pallares (Ecuador), and Mr. Shafaq (Iran) and an amendment by Mr. Daniels (U.S.)—was rejected by Mr. Nisot (Belgium) and Mr. Hiscocks (U.K.) because of the retention of two subparagraphs providing “especially” that information on non-self-governing and trust territories should be analyzed and supplied to the Subcommission. Mr. Hiscocks explained that he favored most of the resolution but saw no reason to single out voluntary reports on dependent areas for study while less readily available data on discrimination in other parts of the world was neglected. These passages were retained by a vote of 5-4 (U.S.)-2 (Ecuador, Iran).

The adopted resolution provides for appointment of a special rapporteur to initiate a study of discrimination in the field of education immediately, and to perform certain other tasks. It also calls for study of measures to combat discrimination in additional fields, and schedules a discussion at the 6th session on the variety and scope of the problem of protecting minority rights.

Foreign Policy Legislation in the 82d Congress

As is customary, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives have prepared summaries of their activities during the two sessions of the 82d Congress, which began January 3, 1951 and ended July 7, 1952.¹ Both documents are valuable sources of information on foreign policy.

Printed below are the introduction to the Foreign Relations Committee's Legislative History, the sections dealing with bilateral treaties and international conventions of a commercial and financial nature, and an appendix summarizing Senate action on treaties.

SUMMARY

Collective security was the theme of much of the activity of the Foreign Relations Committee during the Eighty-second Congress.

The 2-year period of 1951-52 was one in which existing security arrangements were strengthened and new ones established.

The political face of the world as the Eighty-second Congress adjourned in July 1952 was not greatly different from what it had been when the Congress met in January 1951. These 18 months had been full of turmoil abroad; yet, developments abroad were marked by a growing strength and unity among the free nations, and at home every important foreign-policy measure on which the Senate acted was approved by a large bipartisan vote as noted below.

Summary of votes in Senate on major items of foreign relations

Measure	Senate vote
Connally-Russell Resolution (S. Res. 99) ----	69-21.
Mutual Security Act, 1951-----	61-5.
Mutual Security Act, 1952-----	64-10.
Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act (Battle Act).	55-16.

¹ Copies of the *Legislative History of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress* (S. doc. 161) may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. For copies of the *Survey of Activities of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives*, write to the Committee itself.

Measure	Senate vote
Extension of North Atlantic Treaty to Greece and Turkey.	73-2.
Convention on Relations with Germany----	77-5.
Extension of North Atlantic Treaty to European Defense Community.	72-5.
Japanese Peace Treaty-----	66-10.
Mutual Defense Treaty with Philippines----	Voice vote.
Mutual Defense Treaty with Australia, New Zealand.	Voice vote.
Security Treaty with Japan-----	58-9.

As the Eighty-second Congress convened in January 1951, the Chinese Communists were threatening to drive the United Nations forces off the Korean Peninsula and were putting the principle of collective security to its severest test. As the Eighty-second Congress adjourned in July 1952, one of the Senate's last acts was to ratify the agreements with Germany and with the European Defense Community, agreements which, if properly executed, should mark the greatest advance in hundreds of years toward the unification of Europe and a great boost for collective security.

During these 18 months, the committee had before it more measures relating to national and collective security than during any other comparable postwar period. It had more meetings and spent more hours considering these measures than at any other time since the war.

The committee took three main steps to strengthen and expand existing security arrangements and to clarify the United States' commitments to her partners in the free world.

The first of these steps was the long series of hearings on the question of sending additional divisions of American ground troops to Europe as a part of the United States contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization armies, which were just coming into being in early 1951 under the command of General Eisenhower. These hearings, in which the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees sat jointly, resulted in passage of the Connally-Russell resolution approving the plans of the President to send four more United States divisions to General Eisenhower's command but calling for congressional approval in the event additional ground forces are sent.

The second step was the Mutual Security Program, authorized by the Mutual Security Act of

1951 and continued by the Mutual Security Act of 1952. These acts consolidated and expanded United States foreign-assistance programs, which had been authorized in separate legislation by previous Congresses, and shifted the emphasis from economic to military aid. They marked the end of Marshall-plan aid to Europe and a rapid acceleration in NATO rearmament. During the 2 years, a total of about \$14 billion was authorized for mutual aid, compared with about \$10 billion authorized during the Eighty-first Congress.

These large expenditures abroad, the increasing military emphasis of the program, and particularly the Chinese Communist intervention in Korea, aroused concern that no American assistance should find its way, directly or indirectly, behind the iron curtain and thereby increase the war-making potential of the Soviet Union or its satellites. In an effort to cope with this problem realistically, the Congress passed the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (the Battle Act), which established certain controls with respect to east-west trade.

The third step in the effort to expand existing security arrangements was the broadening of the North Atlantic defense system to include Greece, Turkey, and Western Germany.

The Eighty-second Congress was also marked by a stepped-up campaign to liquidate the legal and political vestiges of World War II and to transform former enemies into friends and allies. Treaties of peace with Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Italy had been ratified in the Eightieth Congress, and Italy had been brought into the western defensive alliance through the North Atlantic Treaty approved by the Eighty-first Congress. The Eighty-second Congress ratified a peace treaty with Japan and passed a joint resolution ending the state of war with Germany.

In each case arrangements were made to integrate these former enemy states into the defensive system of the free world. In the Pacific, as a part of the Japanese settlement, the United States entered into mutual defense treaties with Australia and New Zealand and with the Philippines. A bilateral defense treaty was also negotiated with Japan, supplementing the peace treaty.

In Europe, the unilateral declaration terminating the state of war with Germany was followed up by the negotiation of a convention on relations between France, Great Britain, and the United States, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other. A significant part of the European settlement was the formation of the European Defense Community (Edc) and an international army. Besides Western Germany, members of the community are Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, France, and Italy. The Edc and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization exchanged reciprocal security guaranties of the kind contained in the North Atlantic Treaty.

The problems of collective security, and more

particularly of conducting coalition warfare, were also at the heart of the long hearings which the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees conducted jointly on the military and political situation in the Far East. The investigation was touched off by the President's recall of Gen. Douglas MacArthur from his Far East commands in April 1951, and by the time it was concluded in the following July it had filled five volumes with testimony. No formal report or other legislative action resulted from the investigation.

Besides these broad trends developing out of the international situation, the committee's record during the Eighty-second Congress is remarkable in several respects which deserve special mention. One of these was the unusual number of treaties approved.

During this Congress, the Senate received 39 treaties which together with the 34 held over from previous Congresses made a total of 73 treaties before the committee. Of these, the Senate gave its advice and consent to the ratification of 39, and consented to the withdrawal of 4 by the President. This record compares to 25 treaties approved by both the Eightieth and Eighty-first Congresses. It is interesting to note that 24 of the treaties approved were bilateral and that 10 others (such as the Japanese Peace Treaty, the German contractual agreements, and the NATO protocols) had among their signatories only nations of the free world. The only treaty approved to which the Soviet Union was a party was the amendment to the International Load-Line Convention. Some of its satellites, however, were signatories to the four International Labor Conventions approved during this Congress.

Notable also was the far-reaching utilization of the consultative subcommittee system established during the Eighty-first Congress and continued during the Eighty-second. Consultation between officials of the Department of State and members of the committee through these seven subcommittees reached a new high both in number of meetings and importance of these meetings. This development, more fully described below, shows a commendable effort on the part of both the legislative and executive branches to shape foreign policy on a partnership basis.

Another notable feature of the committee's record during the Eighty-second Congress was the number of hearings held. The extensive hearings on the "troops to Europe" issue and the situation in the Far East arising out of the dismissal of General MacArthur have already been referred to. In addition, the committee held long hearings on the Mutual Security Acts of 1951 and 1952, the nomination of Philip C. Jessup, as a delegate to the U. N. General Assembly, the St. Lawrence seaway, the Japanese Peace Treaty and related security pacts, the German contractual agreements, and other matters. While the committee during the Eighty-first Congress spent only 70 days in

hearings, during the Eighty-second Congress it spent 123 days—almost double the number. These hearings filled 10,010 pages, a new record in the committee's history.

As usual, the committee handled a wide diversity of matters—from North Pacific fisheries to the use of highways in Panama, from extradition to sanitation, from children to widows, from wheat to sugar. These activities, summarized below, show the wide scope of the international activities of the United States and the responsibilities of the committee.

For the statistical record, the committee had referred to it and took action on fewer measures (excluding treaties already referred to above) than during the previous Congress.

It had on its calendar 30 bills (23 Senate and 7 House bills) and 76 resolutions (71 Senate and 5 House). This total of 106 measures compares to 150 measures before the committee during the Eighty-first Congress. Of these, 13 were enacted into law, compared to 36 for the previous Congress. It must be remembered in this connection, however, that the Mutual Security Acts included nine programs separately authorized in the Eighty-first Congress. An additional 11 resolutions, seven of them simple Senate resolutions and four concurrent, were approved by the committee and passed by the Senate, and all but one of the concurrent resolutions passed the House. And, finally, two bills were reported by the committee but not passed by the Senate.

Although the volume of business before the committee (in terms of the actual number of bills passed) decreased somewhat during this Congress, the importance of its business did not. This is reflected in the number of meetings held by the committee. The committee and its legislative subcommittees met 251 times during these 2 years, compared to 175 times during the Eighty-first Congress. One hundred and eighty-eight of these were executive sessions, of which the transcripts of 84 were subsequently made public, and 63 were public meetings. The fact that 96 of the executive sessions were held jointly with the Armed Services Committee of the Senate underlines the close relationship between the foreign policy of this Nation and its national security.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL MATTERS: BILATERAL TREATIES

Most civilized nations regulate their normal commercial relations with each other by bilateral treaties and conventions covering various types of activities. The United States, for instance, has treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation, and consular conventions, with practically all states of the world. Some of these treaties date back to the early days of the Republic. The Department of State is constantly revising the old

conventions, negotiating new ones with states newly emerging or previously not covered, and devising solutions to new problems arising out of modern conditions, such as double taxation. The Eighty-second Congress had an unusual number of such treaties before it: 18 double-taxation conventions, all but one of which were approved; 3 consular conventions, which were approved; and 6 commercial treaties on which no final action was taken.

Double-Taxation Conventions

Background.—Double taxation arises, in the absence of reciprocal conventions, from the fact that the various governments assume and exercise broad and frequently overlapping taxing jurisdictions. Several years ago, the United States embarked on a program of negotiating conventions to eliminate double taxation on its citizens residing, deriving an income, or inheriting an estate in a foreign state.

Senate action.—(1) The 14 conventions: In January 1951, a subcommittee with Senator George as chairman and Senators Gillette, Smith of New Jersey, and Hickenlooper as members was appointed to consider the 13 double-taxation conventions then pending before the committee and 1 other transmitted to the Senate during the course of the subcommittee's deliberations. The subcommittee held 2 days of public hearings in April and on June 1, 1951, the subcommittee agreed to report the 14 conventions favorably to the full committee with certain reservations to several of them. The full committee promptly endorsed the subcommittee's recommendations and the Senate ratified them in due course. These were the conventions ratified and the reservations thereto:

1. Convention with the Union of South Africa relating to income taxes, signed at Pretoria, December 13, 1946 (Executive O, 80th Cong., 1st sess.): Approved with an understanding relative to the collection provisions of article XV.
2. Convention with the Union of South Africa relating to estate taxes, signed at Capetown, April 10, 1947 (Executive FF, 80th Cong., 1st sess.): Approved with an understanding relative to the collection provisions of article VIII.
3. Convention with New Zealand relating to income taxes, signed at Washington, March 16, 1948 (Executive J, 80th Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to a reservation relative to taxes collectible from public entertainers.
4. Convention with Norway relating to income taxes, signed at Washington, June 13, 1949 (Executive Q, 81st Cong., 1st sess.): Approved subject to an understanding relative to the collection provisions of article XVII.
5. Convention with Norway relating to estate taxes, signed at Washington, June 13, 1949 (Executive R, 81st Cong., 1st sess.): Approved subject to a reservation respecting the collection provisions of article IX.
6. Convention with Ireland relating to estate taxes, signed at Dublin, September 13, 1949 (Executive E, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to no reservations or understandings.
7. Convention with Ireland relating to income taxes, signed at Dublin, September 13, 1949 (Executive F, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to reservations rela-

tive to the capital-gains provisions of article XIV and the accumulated-earnings provisions of article XVI.

8. Convention with Greece relating to estate taxes, signed at Athens, February 20, 1950 (Executive K, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to a reservation regarding the collection provisions of article IX.

9. Convention with Greece relating to income taxes, signed at Athens, February 20, 1950 (Executive L, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to an understanding with respect to the collection provisions of article XIX.

10. Convention with Canada relating to income taxes, signed at Ottawa, June 12, 1950 (Executive R, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to a reservation relating to the professional earnings of public entertainers.

11. Convention with Canada relating to estate taxes, signed at Ottawa, June 12, 1950 (Executive S, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to no reservations or understandings.

12. Protocol with the Union of South Africa, relating to estate taxes, signed at Pretoria, July 14, 1950 (Executive T, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to an understanding relative to the collection provision referred to above under Executive FF.

13. Protocol with the Union of South Africa, relating to income taxes, signed at Pretoria, July 14, 1950 (Executive U, 81st Cong., 2d sess.): Approved subject to a reservation relating to the profits of public entertainers and the understanding referred to under Executive O above.

14. Convention with Switzerland, relating to income taxes, signed at Washington, May 24, 1951 (Executive N, 82d Cong., 1st sess.): Approved subject to reservation regarding profits of public entertainers.

(2) The three conventions: Toward the close of the second session, three additional conventions on double taxation, referred to the committee since its consideration of the previous 14, were considered by Senator George as a subcommittee of 1. His recommendation for approval was accepted by the full committee on June 23, 1952 and by the Senate a few days later. The conventions, ratified without reservations, were the following:

1. Convention with Finland relating to estate taxes, signed at Washington, March 3, 1952 (Executive K, 82d Cong., 2d sess.).

2. Convention with Finland relating to income taxes, signed at Washington, March 3, 1952 (Executive L, 82d Cong., 2d sess.).

3. Convention with Switzerland relating to estate taxes, signed at Washington, July 9, 1951 (Executive P, 82d Cong., 1st sess.).

Provisions. The conventions and protocols listed above fall into two groups, nine dealing with taxes on income and eight dealing with taxes on the estates of deceased persons. In general they follow the postwar pattern of the conventions with the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark.

The income tax conventions are designed to eliminate double taxation with respect to income, either by exemption in one of the countries or by granting appropriate credit for taxes paid, or both. They also establish a system of reciprocal administrative assistance between the tax authorities of the signatories. They contain provisions relating to business income, dividends and interest, compensation for personal services, government salaries, private pensions and annuities, professors, teachers, students and business ap-

prentices, religious, charitable and similar organizations, ships and aircraft, rentals and royalties, capital gains, accumulated earnings and profits, etc.

The conventions on estate taxes seek to eliminate double taxation, principally by a credit system with respect to the estates inherited by nationals of one country in the territory of the other. They also set up a system for exchange of information and administrative assistance. The provisions are essentially the same as those of previous conventions.

The reservations adopted by the Senate on the estate tax conventions apply to provisions on mutual assistance in the collection of taxes. The committee felt that these were too broad and recommended that they be omitted entirely. This reservation was adopted by the Senate.

The reservations adopted by the Senate to the various income tax conventions all relate to the same provision, which exempted public entertainers from the tax relief for personal services extended to residents of one State temporarily within the taxing State. This was deemed by the committee and the Senate to discriminate unfairly against a particular occupational group, and reservations were adopted withholding Senate advice and consent from that provision.

Dates

Documents

(1) THE FOURTEEN CONVENTIONS

Subcommittee appointed,

January 22, 1951.

Subcommittee hearings, Printed hearings.

April 12 and 13, 1951.

Subcommittee report, June 29, 1951. Executive transcript.

Reported to Senate, August 6, 1951. Senate Executive Report 1, Eighty-first Congress, first session.

Approved, September 17, 1951. Congressional Record, same date.

(2) THE THREE CONVENTIONS

Subcommittee appointed,

May 19, 1952.

Reported to full committee and Senate, June 23, 1952. Executive Report 13, Eighty-second Congress, second session.

Approved, July 4, 1952----- Congressional Record, same date.

Consular Conventions

The United States has consular conventions with most nations of the world. The general nature of these treaties has been described by the committee as follows:

Consular conventions are bilateral agreements whereby the parties agree that they will reciprocally grant consular establishments and consular officers and employees certain privileges and rights within each country. These privileges and rights are given in order to enable the countries party to the conventions to assist and protect their nationals while in the territory of the other party to the convention.

In recent years, the Department of State has negotiated consular conventions to complete this network. The President in 1950 sent to the Senate consular conventions with Ireland and the United Kingdom. An article in these two conventions relating to the appointment of administrators of decedent's estates, however, raised certain questions which persuaded the Department of State to withdraw the United Kingdom convention and submit a new one, and to negotiate a protocol to the Irish convention. A subcommittee of Senators Sparkman (chairman), Fulbright, and Hickenlooper held public hearings on these three conventions—the new United Kingdom convention, the Irish convention, and the protocol thereto—and reported them favorably to the committee. Both the full committee and the Senate approved them.

The conventions with Ireland and the United Kingdom are the first such instruments signed between the United States and those two nations. They follow closely the pattern of the only other postwar consular conventions entered into by the United States—those with the Philippines (1947) and Costa Rica (1948). They concern—

the status of consular establishments, the rights, privileges, and immunities of consular officers, and the duties and functions of consular officers stationed in the territories of the parties to the convention (Ex. Rept. 8, 82d Cong., 2d sess.).

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Documents</i>
First United Kingdom convention signed, February 16, 1949.	
Transmitted to Senate, January 9, 1950.	Executive A, Eighty-first Congress, second session.
Withdrawn, October 16, 1951.	Congressional Record, same date.
Second United Kingdom convention signed June 6, 1951.	
Transmitted to Senate, June 20, 1951.	Executive O, Eighty-second Congress, first session.
Irish convention signed, May 1, 1950.	
Transmitted to Senate, June 7, 1950.	Executive P, Eighty-first Congress, second session.
Protocol to Irish convention signed March 3, 1952.	
Transmitted to Senate, March 28, 1952.	Executive N, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Public hearings, May 9, 1952.	Printed as appendix to Executive Report 8, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Reported to Senate, May 21, 1952.	Executive Report 8, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Approved, June 13, 1952-----	Congressional Record, same date.

Commercial Treaties

Although the commercial treaties were not reported by the committee, they deserve mention because they were considered at some length by

the same subcommittee that considered the consular conventions. The six commercial treaties studied were those between the United States on the one hand and Colombia, Israel, Ethiopia, Italy, Denmark, and Greece. In most respects these treaties follow the general pattern of previous treaties although there were many improvements in language. The treaties covered such matters as the protection of nationals and their property in the territory of the contracting parties, the promotion of trade, the reduction of discrimination based on nationality, and similar matters. One provision relating to the extension of national treatment to nationals of contracting parties engaged in the professions raised several questions which were still under consideration when the Eighty-second Congress ended and it was not possible to conclude the subcommittee's study of the conventions.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Documents</i>
Signed:	
Colombia, April 26, 1951----	
Israel, August 23, 1951-----	
Ethiopia, September 7, 1951---	
Italy, September 26, 1951-----	
Denmark, October 1, 1951-----	
Greece, August 3, 1951-----	
Transmitted:	
Colombia, June 13, 1951----	Executive M, Eighty-second Congress, first session.
Israel, October 18, 1951-----	Executive R, Eighty-second Congress, first session.
Ethiopia, January 14, 1952---	Executive F, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Italy, January 29, 1952-----	Executive H, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Denmark, January 29, 1952---	Executive I, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Greece, January 30, 1952----	Executive J, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Public hearings, May 9, 1952---	Printed hearings.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL MATTERS: INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Certain problems by their nature cannot be solved on a bilateral basis, as those discussed above, but must be settled for greater effectiveness on a multilateral basis. Among these are international commodity, conservation, transportation, and communications problems. The committee during this Congress had before it several such multilateral conventions designed to eliminate specific problems, two protocols to the international agreement on the regulation of production and marketing of sugar, a number of international labor conventions, and an amendment to the International Load Line Convention. These are described below.

Protocols to the International Convention on the Regulation of Production and Marketing of Sugar

Since 1944, the Senate has each year extended, by means of approving a protocol, the international agreement regarding the regulation of production and marketing of sugar of 1937. Such extension has served to keep alive the framework, but not the operative chapters, of that agreement for possible future revision. The 1951 protocol was approved along with the 1952 protocol toward the end of the 1952 session.

Dates	Documents
Signed August 31, 1950, and August 31, 1951.	
Transmitted to the Senate, June 7, 1951, and April 1, 1952.	Executives I, Eighty-second Congress, first session, and O, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Reported to Senate, May 19, 1952.	Executive Report 7, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Approved, July 4, 1952-----	Congressional Record, same date.

International Labor Conventions

The United States has been a member of the ILO since 1934 and has taken a very active part in the organization. ILO conventions and recommendations, however, have not been particularly applicable in the United States because labor standards on the whole in the United States are higher than those advocated in these instruments. Senate action has not been pressed on a number of conventions and recommendations referred to it over the course of the years. During this Congress a special effort was made to secure action on some of these instruments.

The conventions acted upon by the committee were four (Nos. 68, 69, 73, and 74) adopted at Seattle in 1946, all relating to minimum working standards for seamen. ILO Convention No. 68 concerns food and catering for crews on seagoing vessels, No. 69 concerns ships' cooks, No. 73 medical examination of seafarers, and No. 74 the certification of able-bodied seamen. These four conventions deal with conditions of work for maritime employees. The committee report states that the adherence of the United States to the four conventions—

will serve to protect the standards of the most advanced countries, such as the United States, from the lower standards of countries that lag behind.

A subcommittee of Senators Green (chairman), Sparkman, and Tobey held hearings on the four conventions and reported them favorably with several understandings. The purpose of these understandings was to make the conventions—as was intended by the framers—apply only to vessels plying the high seas and to exclude them from application to inland, coastal, or Great Lakes waters. The full committee adopted the subcom-

mittee's recommendations and report, which in turn were adopted by the Senate.

Dates	Documents
Signed, June 29, 1946-----	
Transmitted to Senate, June 23, 1947.	Executives R, S, Y, and Z, Eightieth Congress, first session.
Public hearings, January 21 and 23, 1952.	Typed transcript.
Reported to Senate, June 9, 1952.	Executive Report 11, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Approved, July 4, 1952-----	Congressional Record, same date.

Amendment to International Load Line Convention

Background.—In its report on this convention, the committee stated the background of the International Load Line Convention as follows:

The International Load Line Convention, which was negotiated in 1930, approved by the Senate on February 27, 1931, and proclaimed by the President on January 5, 1933, prescribes the depths to which ships engaged in international commerce may be loaded. It requires that ships of participating nations engaged in international voyages shall be surveyed and marked with load lines in accordance with the convention's terms. Load lines are placed on ships to mark the point beyond which a vessel may not be safely submerged by reason of the load it carries. The convention recognizes that the load line may with full regard to safety differ at varying seasons of the year and in different parts of the oceans of the world and therefore fixes zones and seasons in which and during which different rules for fixing the load lines apply.

Both Australia and Canada proposed modifications to the original conventions, which were approved by the interested authorities and shipping concerns in the United States. The Canadian modification consisted of including the port of Prince Rupert, British Columbia, in the "summer" zone instead of the "winter seasonal" zone, thereby permitting more deeply laden vessels to operate there. The Australian modification proposed to permit ships to remain in the "summer" zone on voyages between the Indian Ocean and ports of southern and eastern Australia, thereby again facilitating the carriage of heavier loads. Since both modifications involved no lowering of safety standards and were supported by all interested parties, the committee and Senate took favorable action.

Dates	Documents
Submitted to the Senate, October 3, 1951.	Senate Executive Q, Eighty-second Congress, first session.
Reported, March 7, 1952----	Senate Executive Report 4, Eighty-second Congress, second session.
Approved, April 1, 1952-----	Congressional Record, same date.

ACTION ON TREATIES

Summary.—During the Eighty-second Congress, the Senate received 39 treaties, which in addition to the 34 still pending from previous ses-

sions made a total of 73 treaties before the committee. Of these 4 were withdrawn at the

request of the President of the United States and 39 were approved by the Senate for ratification.

Document	Title	Date approved by Senate
Ex. O, 80th, 1st	Convention between the United States of America and the Union of South Africa, signed at Pretoria on Dec. 13, 1946, in the English and Afrikaans languages, for the avoidance of double taxation for establishing rules of reciprocal administrative assistance with respect to taxes on income.	Sept. 7, 1951
Ex. R, S, Y, and Z, 80th, 1st	4 conventions, formulated at the twenty-eighth (maritime) session of the International Labor Conference, held at Seattle, Wash., June 6-29, 1946, which were transmitted to the Senate by the President on June 23, 1947.	July 4, 1952
Ex. FF, 80th, 1st	Convention between the United States of America and the Union of South Africa, signed at Capetown on Apr. 10, 1947, in the English and Afrikaans languages, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons.	Sept. 17, 1951
Ex. J, 80th, 2d	The convention between the United States of America and New Zealand, signed at Washington on Mar. 16, 1948, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.	Do.
Ex. Q, 81st, 1st	A convention between the United States of America and Norway for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, signed at Washington, June 13, 1949.	Do.
Ex. R, 81st, 1st	A convention between the United States of America and Norway for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on estates and inheritances, signed at Washington on June 13, 1949.	Do.
Ex. E, 81st, 2d	A convention between the United States of America and Ireland, signed at Dublin on Sept. 13, 1949, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons.	Do.
Ex. F, 81st, 2d	A convention between the United States of America and Ireland, signed at Dublin on Sept. 13, 1949, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.	Do.
Ex. K, 81st, 2d	A convention between the United States of America and Greece, signed at Athens on Feb. 20, 1950, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons.	Do.
Ex. L, 81st, 2d	A convention with Greece, signed at Athens on Feb. 20, 1950, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.	Do.
Ex. P, 81st, 2d	A consular convention between the United States of America and Ireland, signed at Dublin on May 1, 1950.	June 13, 1952
Ex. R, 81st, 2d	Convention between the United States of America and Canada, signed at Ottawa on June 12, 1950, modifying and supplementing in certain respects the convention and accompanying protocol for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of income taxes, signed at Washington on Mar. 4, 1942.	Sept. 17, 1951
Ex. S, 81st, 2d	Convention between the United States of America and Canada, signed at Ottawa on June 12, 1950, modifying and supplementing in certain respects the convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of estate taxes and succession duties, signed at Ottawa on June 8, 1944.	Sept. 17, 1951
Ex. T, 81st, 2d	A protocol between the United States of America and the Union of South Africa, signed at Pretoria on July 14, 1950, supplementing the convention for the avoidance of double taxation and for establishing rules of reciprocal administrative assistance with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons, which was signed at Cape Town on Apr. 10, 1947.	Do.
Ex. U, 81st, 2d	A protocol between the United States of America and the Union of South Africa, signed at Pretoria on July 14, 1950, supplementing the convention for the avoidance of double taxation and for establishing rules of reciprocal administrative assistance with respect to taxes on income, which was signed at Pretoria on Dec. 13, 1946.	Do.
Ex. W, 81st, 2d	A highway convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, signed at Panama on Sept. 14, 1950.	July 4, 1952
Ex. C, 82d, 1st	A convention between the United States of America and Canada, relating to the operation by citizens of either country of certain radio equipment or stations in the other country, signed at Ottawa, on Feb. 8, 1951.	Apr. 1, 1952
Ex. I, 82d, 1st	A certified copy of a protocol dated in London Aug. 31, 1950, prolonging for 1 year after Aug. 31, 1950, the international agreement regarding the regulation of production and marketing of sugar, signed at London on May 6, 1937.	July 4, 1952

Document	Title	Date approved by Senate
Ex. N, 82d, 1st-----	A convention between the United States of America and Switzerland, signed at Washington on May 24, 1951, for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income.	Sept. 17, 1951
Ex. O, 82d, 1st-----	A consular convention and an accompanying protocol of signature between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, signed at Washington on June 6, 1951.	June 13, 1952
Ex. P, 82d, 1st-----	Convention between the United States of America and Switzerland, signed at Washington on July 9, 1951, for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on estates and inheritances.	July 4, 1952
Ex. Q, 82d, 1st-----	Texts of a proposal by the Government of Canada and a proposal by the Government of Australia relating to seasonal zones established in annex II of the international load line convention, signed at London on July 5, 1930.	Apr. 1, 1952
Ex. A, B, C, and D, 82d, 2d--	Treaty of peace with Japan, signed at San Francisco on Sept. 8, 1951; mutual defense treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines, signed at Washington on Aug. 30, 1951; security treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America, signed at San Francisco on Sept. 1, 1951; security treaty between the United States of America and Japan, signed at San Francisco on Sept. 8, 1951.	Mar. 20, 1952
Ex. E, 82d, 2d-----	A protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey, which was opened for signature at London on Oct. 17, 1951, and had been signed on behalf of the United States of America and the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty.	Feb. 7, 1952
Ex. G, 82d, 2d-----	A supplementary extradition convention between the United States of America and Canada, signed at Ottawa on Oct. 26, 1951.	Apr. 1, 1952
Ex. K, 82d, 2d-----	A convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Finland, signed at Washington on Mar. 3, 1952, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on estates and inheritances.	July 4, 1952
Ex. L, 82d, 2d-----	A convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Finland, signed at Washington on Mar. 3, 1952, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.	Do.
Ex. M, 82d, 2d-----	An agreement between the United States of America and Canada, signed at Ottawa on Feb. 21, 1952, for promotion of safety on the Great Lakes by means of radio.	Do.
Ex. N, 82d, 2d-----	A protocol between the United States of America and Ireland, signed at Dublin on Mar. 3, 1952, supplementary to the consular convention, signed at Dublin on May 1, 1950.	June 13, 1952
Ex. O, 82d, 2d-----	A protocol dated in London Aug. 31, 1952, prolonging for 1 year after Aug. 31, 1951, the international agreement regarding the regulation of production and marketing of sugar, signed at London on May 6, 1937.	July 4, 1952
Ex. Q and R, 82d, 2d-----	Convention on relations between the Three Powers and the Federal Republic of Germany, signed at Bonn on May 26, 1952, and a protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty, signed at Paris on May 27, 1952.	July 1, 1952
Ex. S, 82d, 2d-----	An international convention for the high-seas fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Tokyo, May 9, 1952, on behalf of the United States, Canada, and Japan.	July 4, 1952

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Repatriation and Liberation of German Prisoners of War. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2405. Pub. 4600. 12 pp. 5¢.

Understanding between the United States and France—Dated at Paris Mar. 11 and 13, 1947; entered into force Mar. 13, 1947 with annex dated Mar. 7, 1947.

October 13, 1952

Health and Sanitation, Cooperative Program in Paraguay. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2423. Pub. 4601. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Paraguay supplementing agreement of Sept. 18 and Nov. 11, 1950—Signed at Asunción Nov. 5 and Dec. 7, 1951; entered into force Dec. 13, 1951.

Aviation, Establishment of Customs, Public Health, and Police Controls at Payne Field. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2410. Pub. 4605. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Egypt—Signed at Cairo Jan. 5, 1946; entered into force Jan. 5, 1946.

Prosecution of the War, Portuguese Timor Air Base on Santa Maria Island. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2338. Pub. 4611. 9 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Portugal—Signed at Lisbon Nov. 28, 1944; entered into force Nov. 28, 1944.

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